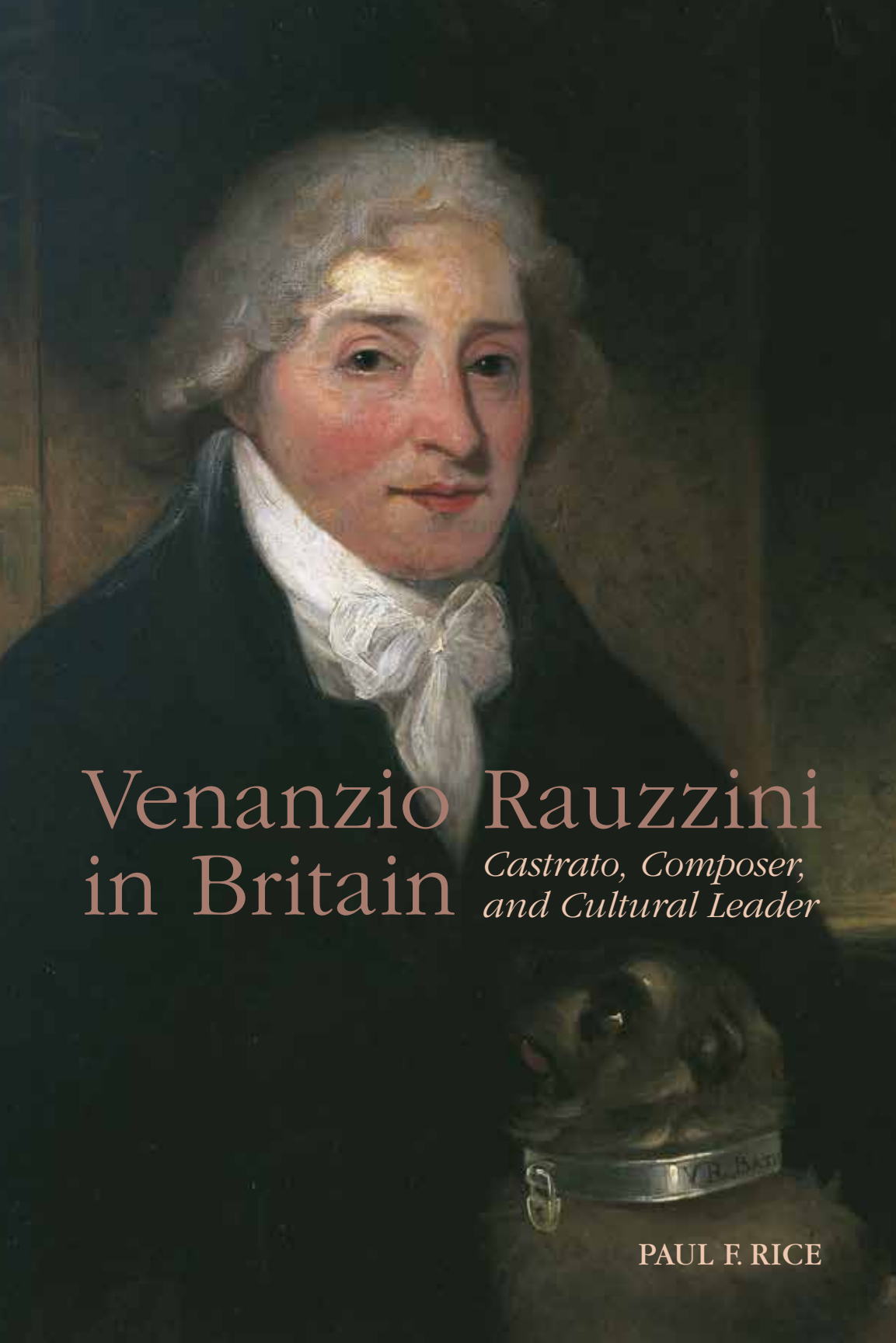

Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain

Castrato, Composer, and Cultural Leader

PAUL F. RICE

Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain

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University of Rochester Press

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To Alan Walker
Professor emeritus, McMaster University

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Preface

The name of Venanzio Rauzzini (1746–1810) is most often remembered because of his connection to Mozart. Rauzzini was a soprano castrato who sang in the premiere of *Lucio Silla* in 1772. Mozart was so pleased with Rauzzini's singing in his opera that he composed the exquisite motet *Exsultate jubilate* for him to perform in Milan's Church of San Antonio in 1773. While Mozart's endorsement of Rauzzini's singing is important, an examination of Rauzzini's diverse career in Britain (1774–1810) reveals much about the social and cultural life at that time. His British career began with three seasons at the King's Theatre in London as the *primo uomo*. Thereafter, Rauzzini embraced a career of composer, concert director, and singing teacher. These activities were largely carried out in Bath, where he directed the famed concerts in that city until his death in 1810. Rauzzini developed a reputation as one of the preeminent voice teachers in the country and he trained some of the leading singers there.

While he enjoyed success in these activities, Rauzzini was a foreigner, a Catholic, and a castrato. As such, he was someone who was "other," both socially and physically. Unlike the visiting operatic castrati who preceded him, Rauzzini was the first (and only) castrato singer to make Britain his permanent home, rather than returning to the Continent after his performing days were over.[1] That he would achieve a position of cultural leadership in the country was both unprecedented and unexpected. As a result, Rauzzini became a target of suspicion by those who distrusted foreign castrati in general, and a feared one in a leadership role in Britain. In addition, the study of his career reveals much about the precarious conditions of presenting Italian opera in London in the 1770s and 1780s, as well as the changing social and political demographics of Britain during the period of the Napoleonic Wars. These concerns affected not only how concert music was perceived by its audience, but also what music should be performed and by whom.

Although there has been much scholarly interest in the great castrato singers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there remains a considerable discomfort amidst the general public with the concept of a singer being "manufactured" at an early age, and seemingly without being able to prevent the mutilation, for the sole purpose of a possible singing career. When Rauzzini's career was celebrated during the 2010 Bath Festival, Raimund Herincx, the director of the concert, tried to portray Rauzzini as an endocrinological

castrato, someone whose voice never changed because of a condition such as Kallmann's syndrome, rather than through surgical intervention. Given that there is absolutely no evidence to support the allegation, one can only assume that it was made to make contemporary audiences feel more comfortable with the celebration. Mark Brown, writing in the *Guardian* on April 12, 2010, seized upon the idea as an excuse for a rather lurid exposé designed to make the singer's life and career "acceptable" to modern audiences: "Raimund Herincx, a retired opera singer, suggests that Rauzzini could not have been castrated and that his unnatural voice was entirely natural. . . . He was also a ladies' man, a kind of castrato Casanova, sleeping his way round Europe with rich men's wives who assumed the sex was risk-free." Such a portrait of a singing Don Juan likely made advertising the concert easier, but there is not a shred of evidence to confirm the assertions. Rather, it demonstrates the lack of general comfort that remains even in the twenty-first century surrounding the concept of the castrato singer. Fortunately, there has also been more positive attention paid to Rauzzini in recent years. His *Piramo e Tisbe* was performed on November 3, 2009, at the Teatro Filippo Marchetti in Camerino (Rauzzini's birthplace) under the direction of Maestro Lamberto Lugli, and a conference devoted to Rauzzini's life and music (Convegno di Studi "Venanzio Rauzzini: da Camerino all'Europa") was given in Camerino on November 27–28, 2010.

The advent of high-voiced countertenors taking on leading roles in Baroque operas in recent years has changed some of the prejudices against heroic male figures singing in the female range. While the use of a countertenor permits some of the roles originally sung by castrati to be heard in the correct pitch range, the countertenor voice is very different from that of the castrato voice, if one is to believe the surviving accounts of singers such as Senesino and Farinelli. The castrato voice is an entity fixed in time, and our understanding of it as an operatic voice is further distanced by time. Rossini did not compose for the castrato voice after his *Aureliano in Palmira* (1813) and Meyerbeer's final opera featuring the voice was *Il crociato in Egitto* (1824). In our own time, the only connection to the sound of the castrato voice can be found in the early recordings of Padre Moreschi of the Sistine Chapel. Moreschi was a church singer and not an operatic singer, but he was the only known castrato to make solo recordings.[2] Moreschi's recordings (made in 1902 and 1904) continue to surprise and baffle, as experts argue over his technique, or lack of it. He had been trained in Rome by Gaetano Capocci, an organist and church musician who was the *maestro direttore* of the Capella Pia of the Lateran, one of the most important churches of Rome. Moreschi rose to become the principal soprano of the Sistine Chapel, but his recordings of largely nineteenth-century music have greater historical value than musical importance. While a few trained endocrinological male soprano voices (such as Radu Marian) have emerged in recent years, the castrato voice is no longer cultivated, and is unlikely to ever

be reinstituted.[3] As a result, we will never know what the great castrato singers of the eighteenth century sounded like, despite the numerous published descriptions of their voices.

While some of the recent scholarly research into the castrato singers of the past has explored the sociological implications of their decline in popularity, little attention has been paid to the cultural leadership provided by some of these singers, or to the reception of music they composed. Rauzzini enjoyed much success in the area of concert direction, and he presented high-profile concert series in London and Bath; his subscription concerts helped to establish the latter city as a cultural centre. While the hegemony of foreign-born musicians such as J. C. Bach and K. F. Abel in the musical life of London during the second half of the eighteenth century has been much studied, Rauzzini's influence there and in Bath remains under-explored. Rauzzini also composed music for eleven operas that were heard at the King's Theatre in London. His early operas were performed to great critical and public acclaim prior to the singer's retirement as *primo uomo*. His subsequent operas demonstrate a more experimental approach to the creation of Italian opera for British audiences. The study of their reception history reveals much about the nature of creation in the light of perceived audience expectations. As Hans Robert Jauss writes, "effect presupposes reception, and in turn the audience's judgement conditions the author's production."[4] In Rauzzini's case, the critical reactions to his later operas were unfortunately influenced by a bitter feud that erupted between him and Antonio Sacchini.

I am indebted to many institutions and individuals in the writing of this study. In Canada, the libraries of the University of Toronto and Memorial University of Newfoundland proved to be invaluable. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Don Walsh at the Digital Imaging Centre at Memorial University of Newfoundland. I am deeply indebted to Sarah-Beth Cormier, who prepared the music examples and to Professor Louise Dawe who kindly read the manuscript. In Britain, I was given much appreciated assistance in my research by the British Library and the National Archives. I am grateful to Dr. Lucy Rutherford, Archivist of the Bath Abbey Archives, for helping to clarify certain puzzling references, and to Ms Anne Buchanan, Local Studies Librarian at the Bath Central Library, for her tireless efforts to sift through uncatalogued materials in that collection on my behalf. Christie's Auction House kindly made a copy of the records of the sale of Rauzzini's library for me. Several institutions made copies of rare scores by Rauzzini: the Library of Congress, Newberry Library in Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, University of Texas at Austin, Royal Library (Copenhagen), Staats– und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Furthermore, Professor Reinhard Goebel kindly shared an edition of a score of Rauzzini symphony that he had used in a CD recording. Thanks finally to Amina Wright,

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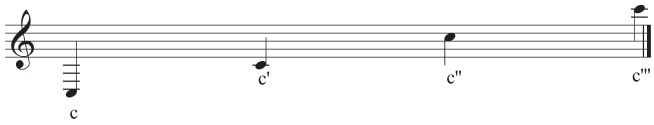
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Chapter One

Rauzzini's European Career

Beginnings

Venanzio Rauzzini was born in Camerino on December 18, 1746, and baptized the following day.[1] Camerino is about about forty miles from Ancona in the Roman Apennines, and was then subject to the Roman pontiff. There are few surviving details of Rauzzini's early life, although he may have come from a musical family. His younger brother, Matteo (1754–91), was also given a musical education which permitted him to pursue a career as singer, composer, and teacher. Whether or not Matteo was also a castrato has not been proven. If he was, it demonstrates that the operation alone did not ensure success as a singer. That said, this region had produced many great castrato singers. Marco Beghelli notes that Carestini, Rauzzini, and Velluti were amongst some two hundred professional singers to have emerged from the area.[2]

There has been much speculation over Venanzio Rauzzini's early musical education. Mollie Sands writes that his early musical studies were undertaken with a member of the papal choir, and that he was a fellow-pupil of Domenico Corri and Muzio Clementi.[3] If true, it is possible that this teacher from the Papal Choir was Giuseppe Santarelli, who was himself a castrato singer. A conflicting view can be found in John Britton's *History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church*, where it is stated that Rauzzini's first teacher was a friar in Rome who, although not a singer himself, had a profound knowledge of music theory and was a good teacher.[4] Biographies given in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London: 1660–1800* repeat the assumption that Rauzzini studied subsequently with Niccolò Popora in Naples, a circumstance that may account for the young Rauzzini's rapid progress to an international career as a singer. Porpora was not only a talented composer, but he had previously trained the famous castrati Farinelli (the stage name of Carlo Broschi, 1705–82) and Caffarelli (Gaetano Majorano, 1710–83). Rauzzini's early training must have been of the highest quality, and not limited solely to the development of his voice, since his general musicianship and ability to read music at sight were much praised.

When Rauzzini's fate to become a *musico* (this term was preferred by singers of the period over "castrato") was decided remains undiscovered. It is likely that the operation had been undertaken some time before the young Rauzzini was listed as a "cantante soprano" at the "Socio Accademico" of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia, at the age of eleven.[5] If Rauzzini studied in Rome, as is believed, the surgery may have been performed by one of the doctors who specialized in the procedure and who were often called the "Pope's surgeons," so great was the need of the church for this type of singer.[6] Although the date of his parents' marriage remains undiscovered, it appears likely that he was not the oldest son in the family. That son would have been the heir, who not only inherited all property but was also expected to marry and carry on the family name.

Rauzzini's earliest stage appearances were made at the Teatro della Valle in Rome between 1764 and 1766.[7] There, he appeared in performances of intermezzi, taking female roles. As a Papal decree meant that women could not appear on the stage in Rome, it was necessary to have castrati dressed as women playing the female parts in operatic performances. Rauzzini was only eighteen years of age when he began his stage career. He played nine female roles in Rome (see appendix B), which was hardly unusual: young castrati often made early operatic appearances playing women.[8] Rauzzini was convincing in these roles because of his youth, good looks, and slender physique. Furthermore, he appears not to have suffered from macroskelia (elongated limbs), as did many of his peers, so his appearance in female costume was convincing. Limiting his youthful performances to intermezzi, as opposed to taking roles in heavier *opera seria* works, was likely beneficial for his vocal health. These intermezzi operas should not be viewed as second rate works, however, especially those composed by Piccinni and Sacchini.

From his earliest stage appearances, Rauzzini's strengths as a singer appear to have been those of taste, delicacy, beauty of tone, and vocal dexterity, all of which were securely rooted in a complete command of general musicianship. William Bingley wrote, just four years after Rauzzini's death:

> before he quitted Rome, which was at an early age, he was so well practised in singing, and had so thorough a knowledge of music, that he could take up the most difficult piece of instrumental composition, reverse the page as he held it before him, and not only read the notes in their inverted order, but in that position sing it at sight, with perfect correctness both of time and intonation."[9]

Many other authors attest to his great musicianship, most notably Charles Burney, who was a keen judge of musical talent.

It would not have been desirable for Rauzzini to continue singing females roles after a certain age if he wanted to pursue a career as a *primo uomo* in major theaters. His first major male role appears to have been in Venice at the Teatro

San Salvatore on May 7, 1766, during the Ascension Fair.[10] The opera was *Sesostri* by Pietro Guglielmi (1728–1804), a colorful and important composer whose popularity then rivalled that of Paisiello and Cimarosa. Undertaking a three-act *opera seria* would have been a significant step forward in the career of the twenty-year-old singer. That Rauzzini had been judged to be successful is confirmed by his subsequent contract with the Bavarian court.

Rauzzini entered into the service of Max Joseph III, Elector of Bavaria, during the winter of 1766–67. For one so young, an appointment to this court was of considerable significance, and it speaks to his growing fame that he had been recognized for his abilities so far away from the Italian peninsula. Rauzzini's position was to be *primo uomo* of the court's theater, although he also appears to have performed in the regular musical activities of the court whenever his services were requested.[11] Robert Münster records that Rauzzini was paid an annual salary of 3000 Gulden, about ten times the average annual income of a court musician.[12] The cultural life at the court was rich, and the prince and his sister, Maria Antonia, were both accomplished as performers and composers. The princess, in particular, earned the approbation of Charles Burney "for her talents, and the progress she had made in the arts, of which she is a constant protectress."[13] Initially, Rauzzini appears to have been a great favorite of the court. His departure in 1772 may have been somewhat under a cloud (see below), but there is little doubt that his six years spent in such a musically rich environment allowed him to consolidate his vocal art and to investigate composition.

Charles Burney left a vivid picture of the musical activity in Munich, and at the court in particular, when he visited in 1772. Burney was particularly pleased by his welcome: "I was amply rewarded for the trouble I took in visiting this city, as I not only found in it materials of great importance to my History, but a great number of modern musicians of the first class, whose performance and conversation were delightful and instructive."[14] Burney also met with singers whom he had known in London, the castrato Gaetano Guadagni (1728–92)[15] and the soprano Regina Mingotti (1722–1808); to his surprise, both singers complained about the treatment they had received from London audiences. Burney was much pleased to attend a performance of the comic opera *L'amore senza malizia* (1768), by Bernardo Ottani (1736–1827), in the presence of the royal family. Burney also met Rauzzini's younger brother, Matteo, whose opera, *Le finte gemelle*, Burney called "common, but pretty," albeit allowing that it was in "good taste."[16] To Burney's great delight, he found that the royal library contained many antiquarian books and treatises. His description of the musical activities—the performance of operas, the nightly concerts at the Nymphenburg Palace during the summer months, and the presence of so many talented performers—paints a vivid picture of a highly literate and musical court.

This was an environment in which a singer with multiple talents, such as Rauzzini, could flourish and prosper. Having a salaried position was

advantageous and provided the young singer a measure of security not enjoyed by itinerant opera singers. In the account left by Burney in 1772, Rauzzini appears to have had a good working relationship with the musical establishment at the court, including the other singers. Music was often performed in private, seemingly for the sheer joy of making music with other professionals. Several quotes from Burney will provide a glimpse into this highly collegial atmosphere:

> The day after my arrival, I had the pleasure of dining with Guadagni, Rauzzini, and Ravanni, an Italian counter-tenor, in the service of this court, and after dinner, of hearing them sing trios most divinely.[17]
>
> This was wholly a musical day; for after dinner, even in seeing the gardens and buildings, Guadagni and Rauzzini sung a great part of the time, particularly in the bath, where there was an excellent room for music; here they went successfully through all Tartini's experiments, in order, by sustaining with their voices two constant intervals, to produce a *third sound*, which is generated in the air, and is their true fundamental base.[18]
>
> Signor Guadagni and Signor Rauzzini were both at this concert, and the latter, whom I had only heard before, in one song, with full accompaniments, was so obliging, as to sing a very pretty air of his own composition, and another admirable one, by Signor Sacchini, in the *Eroe Cinese*. In the execution of these airs, he manifested great and captivating powers: a sweet and extensive voice, a rapid brilliancy of execution, great expression, and an exquisite and judicious taste.[19]

While it is likely that Rauzzini and especially Guadagni were aware of Burney's influence in Britain, these accounts do not appear to suggest that these events were "staged" for Burney's benefit, but were a part of the normal activities of music making at the court. Other references in Burney's account tell of Rauzzini in the company of the principal violinist of the court orchestra, Herr Kröner, and the *Kapellmeister* of the musical household, Johann Gottlieb Naumann.[20] All appear to have been on friendly and collegial terms.

Rauzzini appears initially to have enjoyed an easy relationship with the royal family. He did not regularly take part in the summer concerts at the Nymphenburg Palace, but during Burney's visit, "Rauzzini had, in an obliging manner, thrown himself in the Elector's way, on purpose to be asked to sing, that I might hear him, which I had expressed a great desire to do with a band: . . . He sung an air of his own composition admirably well."[21] This account signals a rather different response to Burney's presence in Munich than do the extracts quoted above, and we may question just why Rauzzini was so accommodating to Burney. Guadagni could have informed Rauzzini of Burney's importance in musical London, or Rauzzini might have consulted Lewis Devisme (1720–76), the Minister Plenipotentiary to the Elector of Bavaria for Britain, to learn just how influential Burney was with the management of the King's Theatre. Could Rauzzini have already been looking for a

lucrative contract at the King's Theatre? This appears to be a possibility. Burney had earlier been impressed by Rauzzini's fine musicianship and compositional skills, although initially not with the power of his voice. Upon hearing him with orchestra, Burney was surprised "by the strength of his voice which had before appeared rather too feeble for a great theatre; but it was want of exertion, for now it made its way through all of the instruments, when playing *fortissimo*."[22] Rauzzini demonstrated both his singing and his compositional talents on this occasion. Burney's account has something of the atmosphere of an audition in which the singer gave his all for the listener. Although Burney relates that Rauzzini was already spending much time in composition, the singer's principal duty at the Munich court was to be the *primo uomo* in opera. His first major operatic assignment in Munich had seemingly been to take part in the premiere of *Siroe, re di Persia*, and *opera seria* by Tommasso Traetta (1727–79) during the Carnival season in 1767.[23] This was followed by operas by Bernasconi, Pompeo Sales, and Sacchini in subsequent years (see appendix B).

Rauzzini's court appointment did not prohibit him from undertaking engagements elsewhere, including Venice and Vienna. To have prohibited Rauzzini from singing in Vienna, in particular, would have been seen as an affront to Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II. Furthermore, Rauzzini's success in foreign theaters added luster to the reign of Max Joseph III as Elector of Bavaria. The singer was heard in Guglielmi's *Il re pastore* at the Teatro San Benedetto in Venice during the Ascension Fair of 1767. The plot gave Rauzzini the opportunity to play a character of considerable depth, appearing initially as Aminta, the shepherd, who is revealed to be the rightful heir to the throne of Sidon. Metastasio's 1751 libretto had been set several times previously and was much appreciated. It was in Vienna, however, that Rauzzini appears to have truly captured the hearts of an audience.

Leopold Mozart first heard Rauzzini in Vienna in September of 1767 in a performance of Hasse's *Partenope* (which premiered on September 9). Mozart thought the opera was beautiful, but that the singing, Rauzzini excepted, was not exceptional, especially for a festive occasion such as the wedding of Ferdinand IV of Naples to Maria Josepha, Archduchess of Austria. As Filandro, however, Rauzzini made an impression on Mozart, who described him as "der beste Castrat." He also stated that Rauzzini had come from Munich, an indication that his connection to the Bavarian court had been much advertised.[24] Thereafter, the cast travelled to Naples, where *Partenope* was performed at the Teatro San Carlo in Sepetember.[25]

Success had come easily to Rauzzini in Vienna, and William Bingley records that he "was justly considered to be the first singer of his day, and consequently became the delight and idol of the public, and the envy of rivals." As in many royal theaters, it was judged to be inappropriate for the audience to applaud a singer or show other forms of approbation unless the royal family did so first. Bingley records that when Rauzzini had "concluded a song in which his full

powers had been displayed, the whole audience [joined] in an universal cry of *Bravo.*"[26] The court was heartily displeased at this breach of decorum and placards were placed in the avenues leading to the theater and in the building itself, admonishing audiences against future inappropriate displays during performances. This was to no avail, as audiences refused not to show their appreciation for the singer.

Partenope was not the only new opera that had been prepared for the royal wedding in Vienna. *Amor e Psiche* by Florian Gassmann (1729–74) was given its premiere in 1767, with Rauzzini in the role of Amor: young and handsome, he would have been a natural choice for the part. Rauzzini appeared in a variety of operas in Munich between 1768 and 1772, including possibly his own *Piramo e Tisbe* in 1769. When Rauzzini composed his opera has been a matter of some debate: Franz Michael Rudhart claimed in 1865 that the opera had been composed in 1769, but is vague about a performance in Munich.[27] In 1963, Hubert Bolongaro-Crevenna wrote that *Piramo* was first heard in Munich in the spring of 1769, but no performance dates are given.[28] More recently, Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell writes in her article on Rauzzini in *The New Grove Dictionary* that this opera was "probably not [produced] in Munich in 1769, as claimed in many biographical sources," but gives no evidence to support her claim. The printed libretto sold at the King's Theatre in 1775 states "The MUSIC entirely NEW," most likely a notice that the work was not a *pasticcio*, rather than an indication that the work was newly composed. This supposition is borne out by the report in the *Morning Post* on March 11, 1775, five days prior to the performance: "both in Italy and Germany it met with amazing success. The duetto and the Songs of Signor Rauzzini in particular are set in such a moving, enchanting stile, full of such melodious sweetness, as would be able like Orpheus, to bewitch 'the soul of Hell.' At Venice two of the airs were encored three times." While it is not impossible for such a notice to have been a puff, the amount of specific detail in it, and the presence of Continental manuscript scores, suggest otherwise. Unfortunately, biographical reports from the nineteenth century muddied the waters with the suggestion that the work had been hurriedly composed for a London premiere: the anonymous "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini" state that *Piramo e Tisbe* had been finished in three weeks. Bingley appears to have accepted this statement when he wrote four years after Rauzzini's death that the work was "produced in the short space of three weeks."[29] The comments in the *Morning Post* (above) suggest in fact that the London production of the opera was not its premiere, and that it was already known on the Continent.

When Burney met Rauzzini in Munich in 1772, the author states that the singer had already composed "two or three comic operas here, which have been very much approved."[30] Unfortunately, he gives no names, and identifying the works has subsequently proved difficult. Mollie Sands names *Astarto* (1769), *L'eroe cinese* (1770), and *Pompeo* (1773) as being works by Rauzzini as

produced in Munich,[31] but all three are in the *opera seria* genre, rather than the comic works that Burney specifies. Although Rauzzini did compose a work called *L'eroe cinese* for London in 1782, the work that was produced in Munich in 1770 of the same name was by Sacchini, and the other two works are now listed in *The New Grove Dictionary* as being of doubtful authorship. That of *Pompeo* is especially suspect, as Rauzzini left Munich in 1772. Burney's comments appear to indicate the works he was shown had been performed successfully, but one wonders if Rauzzini had contributed to *pasticcio* comic works and that Burney misunderstood that aspect of their origins.

On January 8, 1770, Rauzzini appeared in Sacchini's *Scipione in Cartagena*, in Munich. This was followed by a performance in the same composer's *L'eroe cinese* on April 27, 1770. Metastasio's libretto for *L'eroe cinese* was far from being new, but Sacchini's setting proved to be so successful that the opera was revived at the court in Munich in 1771. The opportunity to perform Sacchini's setting of *L'eroe cinese* so often appears to have made an impact on Rauzzini, who later set the libretto himself. From Munich, Sacchini went to Venice, where Charles Burney met him later in 1770. Burney's opinion was that Sacchini was second only to Galuppi, but that the music of both men always "exhilarates and enlivens."[32] The value to Rauzzini, the emerging composer, of performing in Sacchini's *opere serie* in 1770 cannot be underestimated. Sacchini's music, along with that of Gluck, proved to have strong influence on Rauzzini's future operatic compositions. As will be shown in chapter 5, there were those in London who thought that Rauzzini's musical style was virtually indistinguishable from that of Sacchini. Initially friends during Sacchini's time in Munich and later in London, the two men unfortunately became bitter enemies by the early 1780s.

Rauzzini's final operatic performances in Munich were in Bernasconi's *Demetrio*, given during the Carnival season of 1772. The singer's subsequent departure from Munich was given a colorful description by the tenor Michael Kelly, who records that it was Rauzzini's charm and beauty which proved to be his undoing: "But, alas! his beauty was his bane! an exalted personage became deeply and hopelessly enamoured of him, and, [in] spite of his talents, it was suggested to him that a change of air would be for the benefit of his health. He took the hint, and left Munich."[33] This may not have been the only time during Rauzzini's Continental career when he encountered romantic difficulties of this type. Johannes Reindl recounts a satiric sonnet from the period of Rauzzini's early Italian years concerning a certain "Venanzio amato" and a young bride named Tolla Cherubini.[34] Kelly's report has not been corroborated elsewhere, although it was much repeated. One wonders if the story had not become a part of folklore, or at least colored by the passing of over fifty years from the time of the events until their being written down.[35] At the same time, there is little doubt that women found Rauzzini to be highly attractive. Subsequent events in Rauzzini's London and Bath careers confirm this, although no evidence has been forthcoming to indicate that Rauzzini ever

reciprocated their attentions beyond friendship. In the case of the alleged Munich affair, if an "exalted personage" in the court had become fixated on the singer and was beginning to behave erratically or inappropriately, the only possible course of action would have been to require the source of the problem—Rauzzini—to leave.[36] Rauzzini's departure for Italy was hardly the precipitous escape that Kelly's account suggests. During his time in Munich and Nymphenburg (August 16–24 1772), Charles Burney records Rauzzini singing before the Elector in concert, and there is nothing in the account to suggest any estrangement between the two men. Furthermore, Burney's record shows that it was already well known that Rauzzini had been engaged for the winter season in Milan.[37]

After leaving Munich, Rauzzini took up the role of itinerant *primo uomo* in a variety of Italian centres for the next two years. This must have been a very different situation for him after leaving a post with a guaranteed income. His first stop was in Milan for the premiere of Mozart's opera *Lucio Silla* (December 26, 1772), followed by Paisiello's *Sismano nel Mogol* (January 30, 1773). Leopold Mozart records Rauzzini's arrival in Milan on November 21, 1772; wisely, Wolfgang had waited to compose Rauzzini's arias until the singer had arrived so that he could judge his voice and secure his approbation. One might assume that even the sixteen-year-old Mozart might have felt some slight trepidation when composing for a singer who was, himself, an experienced operatic composer. Things appear to have gone well from the outset: Leopold informed his wife on November 28 that Wolfgang had composed only the first aria for Rauzzini ("Il tenero momento"), but that it was extremely beautiful and that Rauzzini sang it like an angel.[38] The period leading up to the premiere of *Lucio Silla* was not without incident, however, as the Mozart letters recount. Cordoni, the tenor who was to sing the title role, took ill and had to be replaced. Bassano Morgnoni, the substitute, was essentially a church singer. Leopold Mozart records that he had not previously sung in such a distinguished and large theater.[39] Morgnoni only arrived in Milan on December 18, leaving Wolfgang little time to compose his arias and for the entire opera to be learned and rehearsed.

All did not go well on the day of the premiere. The performance was a royal event attended by the archduke and archduchess and could not commence until they were seated in the royal box. Leopold Mozart's letter of January 2, 1773, relates that the archduke had dined late, attended a religious service and then written five letters of greetings to the emperor and empress, very slowly. The result was that the opera began three hours late. The singers and orchestra did not find this delay to be congenial. The audience had been waiting since 5:30 p.m. and was growing restless. The addition of ballets to the evening resulted in the performance lasting into the early hours of the morning. This was hardly a propitious start for a premiere of an opera that many doubted could ever succeed, given its composer would only turn seventeen the following day.

Indeed, matters did not go well from the outset. Morgnoni was likely in over his head and nervous: he overacted when he was expected to make an angry gesture during Anna de Amicis-Buonsolazzi's first aria, "Dalla sponda tenebrosa," and the audience laughed.[40] The prima donna misunderstood the reason for the laughter, became upset and did not sing her best for the rest of the evening. The laughter likely only added to her feelings of having been slighted by the acclaim that Rauzzini had received from the outset.

As a royal occasion, tradition dictated that the opera would be played more to the royal personages in attendance than to the rest of the audience. Those outside of the royal box would not applaud unless those in the royal box did so first. As a result, royal performances could be rather quiet in terms of audience appreciation.[41] Leopold Mozart writes that Rauzzini had managed to get word to the archduchess that he would be too nervous to perform well unless he was applauded upon his entrance.[42] She may have thought that she was helping the performance along when she then led the applause. If the story is true, there may have been a calculating side to Rauzzini's personality. Martha Feldman writes that "in fact, Rauzzini succeeded in manipulating a situation that was already tense."[43] There may well be some truth in this, since the character that Rauzzini played, Cecilio, was the first to sing in the opera: Rauzzini's ploy would have set the tone for the remainder of the performance. The story has a familiar ring, given the events of the royal wedding in Vienna in 1767, and it is entirely possible that Rauzzini was capable of manipulating situations to his advantage. If so, he was hardly the first singer to do so, nor would he be the last. Fortunately, later performances of *Lucio Silla* were not marred by incidents, and the opera was judged to be a success.

Prior to Rauzzini's departure for Britain in 1774, he moved often. In 1773, he performed the role of Demetrio in the premiere of Pasquale Anfossi's *Antigono* at the Teatro di S. Benedetto in Venice during the Ascension Fair. The following June, he was in Padua for the premiere of Johann Gottlieb Naumann's *Armida*, singing the role of Rinaldo. These performances would have marked a reunion between Kapellmeister Naumann and Rauzzini. Later that year, Rauzzini travelled to Turin where he performed in the premiere of the Czech composer Josef Mysliveček's *opera seria*, *Antigona* (December 26). This was the start of the Carnival opera season, and the last opera that Mysliveček composed for Turin. Later in the 1774 Turin Carnival season Rauzzini appeared in *La disfatta di Dario*, a *drama per musica* by Giovanni Masi. This production appears to have been quite extravagantly staged, with 152 extras, and twenty-six horses in all likelihood onstage at the same time. Twenty-two performances were given of the opera, and Rauzzini's performance was acclaimed.[44]

According to the [London] *Morning Post* of March 11, 1775, Rauzzini's *Piramo e Tisbe* had also been performed in Venice in 1774 to great acclaim. The paper reported that Rauzzini's student, the soprano Caterina Schindlerin (1753–88), had performed with him, and that both the opera and its title performers had

enjoyed much success. To date, this account has not been confirmed. What has been proved, however, is that Rauzzini gave the premiere of *Narbal*, a *dramma per musica* by Ferdinando Bertoni, in Venice at the Teatro Giustiani di San Moisè in May of 1774. This work was an adaptation of Metastasio's libretto for *L'eroe cinese*, a libretto that was becoming a recurring element in Rauzzini's musical life. This was to be his final operatic role on the Continent.

Caterina Schindlerin also featured in the cast of *Narbale*, and her presence in Venice gives further credence to the report of *Piramo e Tisbe* also being heard at this time. Schindlerin was cast in the role of Statira, while her younger sister, Anna Maria Schindlerin (1757–79), sang the role of Aspasia in the performances of *Narbale*.[45] The two German singers had evidently enjoyed some success in Venice, as they both had appeared in the previous season's production of Mysliveček's *La clemenza di Tito*. The production of *Narbale* was likely the beginning of the association of Catarina Schindlerin with Rauzzini. She followed Rauzzini to London, while her sister travelled to Vienna, later marrying the actor Joseph Lange, and performing in operatic performances there before her untimely death. Rauzzini's *Piramo e Tisbe* was to play an important part in the career of both sisters. Catarina sang the role of Tisbe in London, and subsequently took over the role of Piramo in Vienna in 1776, when her sister sang the role of Tisbe.

Rauzzini's Continental career as a principal singer was significant and varied. His success in Munich, Vienna, and throughout the northern Italian peninsula speaks to his attributes as a stage performer. He had taste, solid musicianship, a voice of considerable beauty, and he was a fine actor. These were very solid attributes on which to base a successful career.

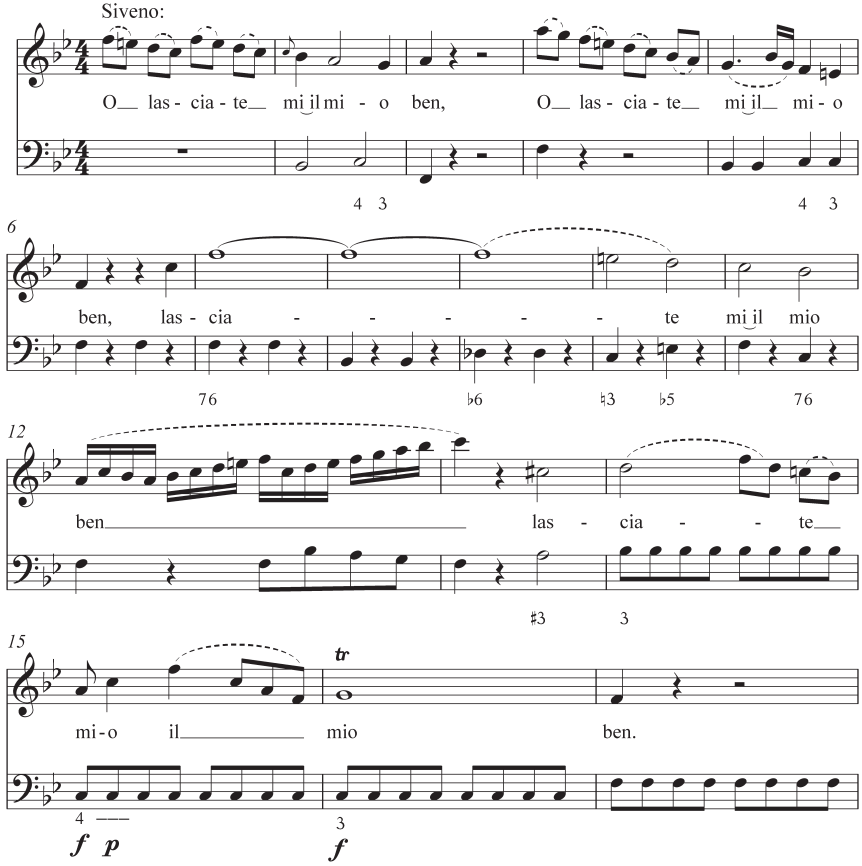
Rauzzini's Voice

While we shall never know the exact qualities of Rauzzini's voice upon his arrival in London in 1774, surviving descriptions give some idea of his strengths and weaknesses as a singer. Furthermore, Patricia Lewy Gidwitz has demonstrated that it is possible to ascertain some of the physical characteristics of a voice through an examination of the music especially created for a singer. In particular, the range of the voice, the comfortable tessitura, and the strength of the voice can be recovered.[46] During the eighteenth century, singers demanded, and received, music that was best suited to their vocal abilities. Composers realized that if they wanted their music to be performed well, they had to please their singers. Mozart's oft-repeated comment from February 28, 1778, that he liked an aria to fit the singer like a well-tailored garment, is particularly telling.[47] Indeed, Mozart was prepared to go to great lengths when preparing his operas to suit the needs of a new cast. Gidwitz has examined the case of the 1789 Viennese revival of *Le nozze di Figaro* in which the Susanna, originally sung

by Nancy Storace, was to be played by Adriana Ferrarese del Bene. The latter's voice and performance strengths were radically different from those of Storace, and Mozart had to compose completely new arias to replace Susanna's arias "Venite inginocchiatevi" and "Deh vieni non tardar."[48] Few would argue that the replacements are superior to those originally composed for Storace, but Mozart likely thought that he had no choice but to create new music that would show Farrarese del Bene's voice to its best advantage.

In the case of Rauzzini, it is possible not only to examine music by Sacchini and Mozart created especially for him, but also to consult his own vocal compositions. The latter, composed over a period of years, reveal his changing vocal estate and preferences. Of the earlier music composed for Rauzzini, Sacchini's *L'eroe cinese* (April 27, 1770), is of considerable significance.[49] The opera enjoyed considerable acclaim on the Continent, although it was never performed in London. Metastasio's libretto calls for three arias and a duet for the character of Siveno. The first two acts each begin with an aria for this character: "Ah se in Ciel benigne stelle" and "Il mio dolor vedete."[50] The duet with the character Lisinga, "Perche se re tu sei," ends act 2, and the first scene of the third act begins with a cavatina for Lisinga which is immediately followed by Siveno's final aria, "Frena le belle lagrime."[51] The placement of Siveno's arias near the beginning of each act gave Rauzzini's role a special prominence. All three arias are cast as multi-tempo, *da capo* structures, with the opening aria being of considerable proportions. Their orchestration is consistent with parts for two oboes, two horns, and strings (bassoons presumably would have doubled the general bass line).

"Ah se in Ciel benigne stelle" is a difficult, large-scale aria that would have allowed Rauzzini to make a strong initial impression. The range is a full two octaves, c′–c‴. The extremes of this range are not visited often, and the tessitura remains in the upper mid-range of the voice (c″–f″). When Sacchini ventures outside this comfort zone, it is most often to ascend in the range rather than descend. Whether or not this indicates that Rauzzini had a weak low range or that there was some acoustical anomaly in the theatre cannot be determined. There may be an indication that Rauzzini's voice was not particularly large, as the orchestrations of all three arias tend to accompany the voice lightly, reserving the winds for instrumental interjections or having *piano* dynamic markings when they do accompany the voice. The ascent to c‴ comes at the end of a passage containing the note f″ held for three measures. The held pitch was an invitation for Rauzzini to show off his *messa di voce*, and then follow it up with an ascent to the highest note for the singer in the opera. Rauzzini seemingly never wrote the note c‴ for himself, and it is not perhaps surprising that the note is not held. Even more surprising is the downward leap of a diminished octave which follows. Here, Sacchini makes a bold harmonic gesture, with F major harmony supporting the top note of the run, followed up by an interrupted cadence from A major to B-flat-major. This leads into a cadential formula ending on F major, the dominant key of the aria as a whole.

Example 1.1. Sacchini, *L'eroe cinese*, "Ah se in Ciel benigne stelle," excerpt.

None of Sacchini's music for Rauzzini that follows investigates a range quite so wide; both remaining arias have ranges of e♭′–b♭″. Each has a tessitura that hovers between c″–g″, again in the upper-middle range. In the case of the duet, Rauzzini was always given a lower part than the female soprano singing the role of Lisinga when the two sang together; Rauzzini's soprano voice may not have been happiest at the extreme top end of his range. He may have been able to ascend as high as c‴ at this stage in his career, but this note was used for effect, and only once in the score. His comfort zone appears to have been somewhat lower although Sacchini felt confident in beginning phrases with the note f″ and keeping the tessitura high throughout.

There is a striking consistency with the music composed for Rauzzini in *L'eroe cinese* with that found in Rauzzini's own *Piramo e Tisbe*. Until such time as a performance date in Munich has been confirmed, it is not possible to say

with certainty that the work is contemporaneous with Sacchini's opera, but the music composed for the role of Piramo seems to suggest this. Since *Piramo e Tisbe* is the only opera by Rauzzini to survive complete, it becomes the best way to assess how Rauzzini saw his own voice prior to his London years.

Examination of the manuscript in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Ms.Mus.17829), reveals that the range of the role of Piramo was b♭–a″, just a semitone short of a full two octaves. At the same time the tessitura is confined to within just over an octave, e′–f″. The extreme lower range is used once, and then purely for expressive effect, while the notes g″ and a″ are using in passing and never held. The examination of this score alongside that of Sacchini's *L'eroe cinese* confirms Burney's statement that Rauzzini had an extensive range, "being in compass more than two octaves."[52] His comfort range, however, appears to have been considerably narrower.

Examination of the music composed for Rauzzini by the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in December 1772 and January 1773 reveals much about the singer's voice. Rauzzini took part in the premiere of *Lucio Silla* on December 16, 1772, at the Teatro Regio Ducal in Milan. He took the part of Cecilio, a senator banished from Rome by the dictator Lucio Silla. Although the character of Cecilio is frequently on stage and has many recitatives, he has only four arias: one in the first act, two in the second act, and a fourth in act 3. Of these, it is the first aria, "Il tenero momento," that is the longest and most difficult. The aria opens the second scene of act 1 and presents the character in monologue. As such, it was a prime opportunity for Rauzzini to make a strong impression, and he was aided and abetted in this by the young Mozart.

The aria was preceded by a long *recitativo accompagnato* which reveals the character's remorse. The ternary aria which follows is taxing in the extreme. It consists of 233 measures, of which only twenty are given over to the orchestral introduction. This introduction would have given Rauzzini the time to establish his character before beginning to sing. Martha Feldman notes that "thereafter, the balance of power tips increasingly toward the singer, putting orchestra and audience at bay as Cecilio seizes more and more of the musical ground by modulating and expanding on verses 3 and 4."[53] For one so young, Mozart's depiction of the conquering hero in musical terms is very astute. For Rauzzini, this was a golden opportunity to display his voice and his ability to act at the same time.

The vocal demands of the aria are considerable. The range is two octaves, a–a′. The tessitura is d′–f″, but there are numerous opportunities for the singer to dip into the chest range, often followed by upward leaps. Although several phrases begin on f″ or g″, Mozart rarely kept Rauzzini in the higher part of the range for long periods, except for the coloratura passages, which often explore the upper part of the singer's range, lightly accompanied by the orchestra. Martha Feldman writes of the "extended fioritura that subdues the orchestra almost completely" in this aria, but surely such light accompaniment in these

passages is a concession to the singer so that he could be heard.[54] Another obvious concession is the treatment of the word "tenero" in the opening phrase where the note f″ is held for eleven beats, and invites a demonstration of the *messa di voce* so loved by Italians of the period. Rauzzini may not have often composed coloratura passagework for himself, but the young Mozart did not shy away from creating such passages in the role of Cecilio. These passages abound in the opening aria (up to ten measures in length), and they reveal both the singer's breath control and flexibility. While the return to the A section of the aria is somewhat truncated, the demands remain considerable. If Rauzzini sang this aria "like an angel," to quote Leopold Mozart, the comment tells us much about the singer's stamina and agility.

Of Rauzzini's effective range, however, it is instructive to examine the remaining arias in the opera, all of which are shorter and have a narrower range. "Ah se a morrir" (act 2, scene 9) has a range of a–a♭″ and a tessitura of e♭′–f″. Although the tessitura in this aria is higher than in Cecilia's opening aria, it is considerably shorter; Mozart did not need fear tiring Rauzzini. Similarly, "Pupille amate" (act 3, scene 4) is a relatively short aria with a range of e′–a″, and a restricted tessitura of g′–e″. Neither of the later arias investigates coloratura passagework to any degree, and Mozart was very careful in his orchestration not to overpower Rauzzini when the vocal line dipped into the lower register of his voice. Elsewhere, the voice is often accompanied only by the strings, with the woodwinds are reserved for orchestral punctuations of the vocal line. Mozart's treatment of these arias in *Lucio Silla* further invites the conjecture that Rauzzini's voice was not particularly large and the young composer judged his accompaniments accordingly.

While Sacchini had earlier composed music for Rauzzini with a range up to c‴, Mozart avoided stressing his upper range. In this area, Rauzzini appears to have differed from his famous soprano *musico* predecessor, Farinelli. Even after Farinelli's voice had deepened to permit him to sing in the contralto range, J. J. Quantz reports that he still sang many of his arias in true soprano pitch, and that he retained his high range up to d‴. Quantz writes: "Farinelli had a well-carrying, well-rounded, rich, high, and even soprano voice, the range of which extended from the 'a' below middle 'c' to the 'd' above the staff. Many years later it increased in depth several tones without losing the high ones. For this reason, in many operas, an adagio was usually written for him in the contralto range, and the other [arias] in soprano range."[55] The comparison of the music composed by Mozart for Rauzzini and that by Farinelli's brother, Riccardo Broschi, for the older singer is instructive. In the aria "Qual guerriero in campo" from *Idaspe*, Broschi used the range of c′–c‴. The aria "Ombra fedel anch' io," from the same opera, appears to have been composed to demonstrate Farinelli's contralto tones; the music sits below d″ in the long opening section. The brief central part of the aria has a slightly higher tessitura; however, even here, the music does not exceed f″.[56] There is

nothing in the music that Mozart composed for Rauzzini which hints at this kind of extended range.

Lucio Silla was not the only work that Mozart composed with Rauzzini's voice in mind. The celebrated motet *Exsultate jubilate* (KV165/158a) was composed for a performance in Milan at the Church of San Antonio on January 17, 1773, with Rauzzini as soloist. One must assume that the vocal writing of this work was as tailor-made for its singer as had been the arias in *Lucio Silla*.[57] The motet is essentially a concerto for voice and orchestra lasting upward of sixteen minutes in performance, and introducing testing demands in both legato and florid singing. The tessitura is moderate, although there are descents into the singer's lower register for expressive purposes. The highest note is a″, and it is only in the final movement ("Alleluia") that the singer is asked to sing that note sustained. It appears that Mozart wanted to be sure that Rauzzini was sufficiently warmed up vocally to sustain the higher tessitura. After the extended orchestral opening, the first movement in F major is analogous to the first movement of a concerto; it even has a place for an extemporized cadenza. This movement is connected by a recitative to the Andante, "Tu virginum corona," in the remote key of A major. Here, the demands are not only of florid singing and virtuosity, but of great breath control and unblemished legato singing. The Andante is cast as a ternary form, and is clearly analogous to the slow movement of a concerto. The concluding brilliant "Alleluia" movement is prefaced with a linking passage which takes the music back to the key of F major. If Rauzzini was capable of singing all movements of the motet equally well, he must have excelled in both florid singing and in expressive legato cantilena. Given how little music Rauzzini composed for himself that required his coloratura-singing abilities, Mozart's writing for the singer takes on a special significance.[58] It is a testament to the young Mozart's ear and intuition that he so quickly took the measure of Rauzzini's voice. Although the commentators of the period refer to Rauzzini as a soprano, it seems likely that his voice was not as high as some other castrato singers; indeed, it is possible that he was more comfortable in the mezzo-soprano range.[59]

From the available reports, it seems that Rauzzini was at the height of his powers when he arrived in London. His voice may not have been especially large, but it was used expressively, was of excellent quality and highly flexible. In addition, he had an attractive stage presence and was an excellent actor. In short, he possessed many of the necessary qualities for success at the King's Theatre. It is likely that his singing would have been known to very few people in London at the time of his arrival there.

Although not confirmed, it is possible that Charles Burney had been consulted about hiring Rauzzini for a season in London. When Burney heard the singer in Munich in 1772, Rauzzini was only twenty-six years of age. The author recorded that "he is a charming performer; his taste is quite modern and delicate; the tone of his voice sweet and clear; his execution of passages of the most

difficult intonation amazingly neat, rapid, and free: and his knowledge of harmony is far beyond that of any great stage-singer I ever knew."[60] As noted above, Burney had first thought Rauzzini's voice was too small for a large theater but changed his mind after he heard the singer with an orchestra. It appears, however, that Burney's first assessment of Rauzzini's voice was likely more accurate. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe heard Rauzzini over a period of years in Britain, in both opera and concert. He confirms Burney's initial views when he describes the singer's voice as "uncommonly sweet, and his taste good, but his powers were rather limited."[61] Similarly, Burney changed his opinion somewhat by the time that he came to write the final volume of his *General History*: "VENANZIO RAUZZINI was at this time a beautiful and animated young man, as well as an excellent musician who not only knew his own business well as a singer, but that of a composer: being able to set an opera as to sing in it. His voice was sweet, clear, flexible, and extensive; being in compass more than two octaves. But it was not powerful when I heard it at Munich, two years before; and it was perhaps daily rendered more feeble by his applying closely to composition."[62]

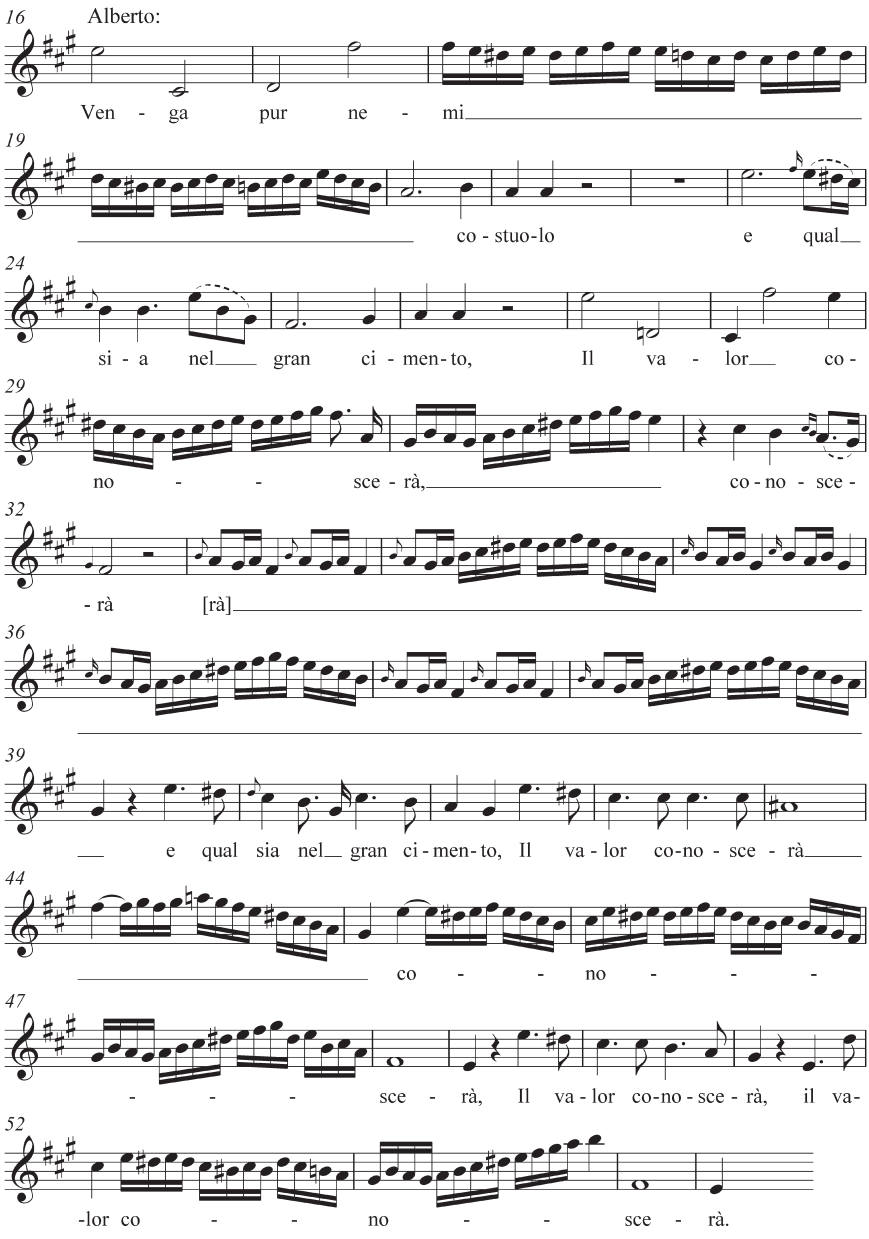
The lack of a powerful tone appears to have plagued Rauzzini throughout his operatic career; it was seemingly necessary for him to exert himself considerably to produce sufficient volume. This would not seem to be the result of deficient training but the natural inclination of his vocal apparatus. Rauzzini appears to have compensated for a lack of volume, however, with impressive acting skills. These must have developed at an early age, as Burney commented on Rauzzini's acting at the time of their first meeting. His exceptional good looks are revealed in his numerous portraits, and his striking stage appearance impressed his audiences. Mount Edgcumbe states that "when he first sung in this country, he was young and handsome, had an agreeble [*sic*] countenance, and was an animated actor."[63] Some sense of the impact of his stage presence has been preserved in the engraving of the singer in the role of Piramo, found in the Harvard Theater Collection, from a scene from the 1775 production of hisopera *Piramo e Tisbe*.[64] Michael Kelly records that he even won the approbation of David Garrick, the leading dramatic actor of the period in London, who is alleged to have often praised the singer's acting in this role.[65] From these descriptions there emerges a picture of a well-trained, albeit not large, voice with an agreeable quality, highly flexible, blessed by accurate pitch, and used with great taste. This last quality is the most indefinable, particularly when taste changed with the passing of time.

Rauzzini made a double debut in London when he appeared in the role of Rinaldo in the *pasticcio* opera *Armida* on November 8, 1774. For this production, Rauzzini sang two arias of his own composition, one of which, "Si mio be sarò fedele," was published by Bremner.[66] This aria found much favor with the London audiences and was presumably tailor-made to suit Rauzzini's needs. The range is e′–a″, but the tessitura is quite high within this range (c″–g″). The orchestration includes parts for oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, and

strings. The full complement of instruments is rarely heard with the voice; more often the winds punctuate the textures when the voice is silent. In this regard, Rauzzini appears to have learned well from the experience of singing the music of Sacchini and Mozart. There is no coloratura writing in the piece except for a two-measure extension just prior to the cadenza location at the end of the aria. The music is gracious and moving and is designed to demonstrate Rauzzini's legato singing, rather than making heroic utterances or dazzling the audience with coloratura display. This would seem to represent the very essences of Rauzzini's musical tastes and his preferred singing style (see chapter 2 for a further discussion of Rauzzini's performance in *Armida*).

Similar comments can be made about the music that survives from Rauzzini's London operas, *Le ali d'Amore* and *L'eroe cinese*. Unfortunately, full manuscripts for these operas have not survived and any judgments on Rauzzini's writing for his own voice must be made on the surviving published excerpts. In the case of *L'eroe cinese*, so little of even what was published has survived to make valid comments impossible. The aria "In godeva giorni in pace" (*Le ali d'Amore*) did push his range up to b″. This note is heard twice in the aria and each time it is approached by scale passages of over an octave. Of particular interest in attempting to map the changes to Rauzzini's voice is his last operatic role of Alberto, in *La regina di Golconda* of 1784. Once again, no manuscript appears to have survived, but enough of the music was published in short score to give a good idea of what Rauzzini was trying to achieve.[67] Given that certain aspects of the music that he wrote for himself differs significantly from what has been discussed above, it is necessary to examine the circumstances surrounding his performance in this opera.

When Rauzzini returned to the King's Theatre in 1784 he faced considerable opposition from those who felt that he had earlier maligned Sacchini's reputation and had helped drive him out of London in 1782 (see chapter 5). Rauzzini also faced extremely stiff competition from the resident *primo uomo* at the theater, Gaspare Pacchierotti (1740–1821). For Rauzzini, who had not been singing opera regularly for seven years, taking on the heroic role of Alberto at the theater might have been seen as foolish. Certainly, some of the London newspapers pilloried him for his efforts. Given that Rauzzini's voice had never been best suited to heroic utterances, it would appear that only the pastoral second act in *La regina di Golconda* played to his vocal strengths. Given the circumstances of the production, he appears to have felt the need to make a "big statement" in his opening aria, "Son guerrier non pavento," in the first scene of act 1.[68] The range is g♯–b″. It would appear that, like Farinelli, Rauzzini's voice had deepened somewhat with age, thereby allowing him to sing a lower note than even Mozart had composed for him. Neither this note nor those above b″ can be found elsewhere in Rauzzini's surviving music that he composed for his own use. The music gives the impression that Rauzzini was pushing his voice to its extreme limits in order to make a big effect in his return to the operatic stage.

Example 1.2. Rauzzini, *La regina di Golconda*, "Son guerrier e non pavento," vocal line, mm. 16–55.

16
Alberto:
Ven - ga pur ne - mi
19
co - stuo - lo e qual
24
si - a nel gran ci - men - to, Il va - lor co -
29
no - sce - rà, co - no - sce -
32
- rà [rà]
36
39
e qual sia nel gran ci - men - to, Il va - lor co - no - sce - rà
44
co - no -
47
- sce - rà, Il va - lor co - no - sce - rà, il va -
52
-lor co - no - sce - rà.

The note b″ is heard only once in this aria and nowhere else in the music that survives for the role of Alberto. Significantly, the note was released immediately after being sung and is followed by a downward leap. This is similar to what Sacchini had composed for Rauzzini fourteen years earlier in *L'eroe cinese* (see ex. 1.1 above), and similarly suggests that that Rauzzini did not wish to remain in the extreme high register for long. Indeed, the tessitura of the aria is considerably narrower than its range and the extensive coloratura passages tend to wind around the general tessitura of the aria without really going anywhere. The leaps in the vocal line of an eleventh and even a thirteenth recall Mozart's writing; they help make the grand effect that was necessary for the military figure of Alberto in the opera, but were was likely not best suited to the true nature of Rauzzini's voice.

Act 2 of the opera is pastoral in nature and does not require grand and heroic utterances from the character of Alberto,[69] who awakes in the first scene from a drug-induced sleep to find himself seemingly transported back to his native land and his long-lost love Alina. His reaction is one of wonderment and a delight in the beauty of the surroundings. Rauzzini's response to this scenario was to create accompanied recitative and arioso rather than grand arias. The range of this scene is only c′–g″ and the tessitura e′–f″. There are no coloratura passages or other heroic vocal gestures in the scene. The music of act 2 depends upon legato singing, breath control, subtle shadings of words, and general expressiveness for its success. These qualities appear to have been Rauzzini's strengths as a singer throughout his career. He may have been fluent in coloratura, as the final "Alleluia" of Mozart's *Exsultate jubilate* demanded, but his singing aesthetic was not based upon vocal showmanship. As Rauzzini was to write in his *Twelve Solfeggi, or Exercises for the Voice*, "the sole object of singing is to please; extravagant passages may create surprise, but seldom pleasure."[70] This appears to have been an abiding tenant of his singing throughout his career.

The Move to London

Frances Burney's *Early Journals* indicate that Rauzzini's appointment as *primo uomo* had been announced by February 20, 1774.[71] The Italian opera in London had enticed many fine singers over the years, principally because of the large salaries offered in compensation for the demands of singing in numerous operas throughout an entire season. The London contracts provided both a measure of stability and a predictable income that was not always possible for itinerant singers on the Continent. A fixed appointment had some potential disadvantages, however. A new singer to the company would usually have little control over the other singers engaged by the management. It would be one thing to appear in a single production with uncongenial colleagues

and then move on to another theater, but having to work for an entire season under such conditions could be a daunting prospect. Furthermore, Rauzzini ventured into unknown territory where he had only second-hand knowledge of the customs and tastes of the local audience. He would likely have known that the castrato voice did not have a long history in England, but it would seem unlikely that he knew just how contentious that history had been. The Anglican Church made use of boy sopranos and adult male falsettists rather than castrati. As a result, the sound of the castrato voice was known only to a very few in Britain during the seventeenth century. Catherine of Braganza, consort of Charles II, brought several castrati to London to sing in St James's Chapel during the 1660s, while Charles II employed two of them in the Chapel Royal. During the 1680s, castrati performed in private concerts for the nobility and in the Catholic chapels attached to foreign embassies.[72] Consequently, the association with Catholicism and aristocratic entertainments not available to the majority stigmatized the voice-type from the earliest days. With no widespread tradition of castrato singing in Britain during the seventeenth century that might have prepared audiences for its sound when Italian opera was introduced in London in the early eighteenth century, castrato singers were as much feared for their uniqueness as their performances were respected. The very duality of the castrato existence in Britain—that of simultaneously creating enjoyment and disgust—proved to be a recurring feature in their reception.

Those not used to the sound of the castrato voice or with little interest in opera must have been puzzled by this convention of Italian opera that had suddenly become so popular with the British aristocracy. On the face of it, an adult male portraying great heroes or military leaders but singing in the high female range defied logic and reason. What was it about the castrato voice that had allowed it to become established on the Continent as a principal feature in Italian opera? During the hundred years of Continental operatic history that predated the introduction of Italian opera in Britain, the juxtaposition of the female (voice) and male (body) had resulted in "seductive figures of idyllic, heroic youth" commanding the utmost respect in the seventeenth century.[73] The apparent youthfulness of the castrato was the result of the lack of secondary sexual characteristics coupled with the high voice of a woman. Although the castrato's voice was more powerful than that of a child, it could retain the sweetness and purity of the child's voice. For the greatest singers, such as Senesino (Francesco Bernardi, 1686–1758) and Farinelli, the siren sounds of their voices coupled with virtuosity of the highest order allowed them to execute the most difficult music and lure the listener into a world where sensual vocal beauty reigned. Charles Burney's comments about Gaspare Pacchierotti demonstrate just how strong an attraction the castrato voice, purely as a medium of sound, could have over even the most educated of listeners: "The natural tone of his voice is so interesting, sweet, and pathetic, that when he had a long note, or *messa di voce*, I never wished him to

change it, or to do anything but swell, diminish, or prolong it in whatever way he pleased, to the utmost limits of his lungs."[74]

Given the lack of opportunity to become acclimatized gradually to the traditions of castrato singing, it is perhaps not surprising that critical reactions to Italian opera were mixed when it was introduced in London. The castrato voice carried with it a tremendous amount of baggage and evoked various fears. Todd S. Gilman's statement that the castrati were "loathed as much as they were admired" between 1710 and 1740 is highly perceptive. John Dennis (1658–1734) was an influential critic, whose *Essay on the Opera's* [*sic*] *after the Italian Manner . . . with some Reflections on the Damage which they may bring to the Publick* (1706), and *An Essay Upon Publick Spirit* (1711) raised serious questions about the dangerous effects of Italian opera.[75] For Dennis, Italian opera had several strikes against it. Firstly, it originated in a land that was tainted by Catholic dogma and was generally assumed to be the home of sodomy. Secondly, its leading male singers were eunuchs who compromised traditional gender roles. Furthermore, there was a fear that because of their siren voices they could make British men sodomites while, at the same time, making themselves so attractive to women that castrati were actually preferred over uncastrated men.[76] Gilman summarizes the complaints of Dennis as follows: 1) Italian music was soft and effeminate, which subjugated the intellect to emotion through sound; 2) as such, music became the purveyor of sensuality; 3) Italian opera was merely an entertainment of music, rather than a refined and elevated drama with a moral purpose; 4) Italian opera was thus as unnatural as the sodomitical acts associated with Italian culture.[77]

Thomas McGeary points out that many of these fears were rooted in Dennis's Whiggish vision of Britain with its constitutional monarchy and male-dominated gender norms.[78] Italian opera was "feminine"; as such it threatened traditional male sexual domination and the patriarchal ordering of society.[79] The siren voice of the castrato created illusions that undermined such traditions, and did so with vocal tools which "normal" men lacked. McGeary draws attention to a letter printed in the *Plain Dealer* on June 19, 1724. It is signed by one "Fidelia," who complains about having fallen in love with a castrato. She chastises the editor of the newspaper, writing, "Wou'd to Heaven, when you were so severe upon MASQUERADES, you had warn'd me against OPERA! you had sav'd an Undone Woman! and One, who for ought I see, is still likely to be Undone; for, thinking no Harm, where, I had heard, there was no Danger, I am fallen desperately in Love with SIGNIOR——."

It is likely that the author of this letter was a man, masquerading as a woman, whose agenda it was to promote the growing fears that opera could corrupt women while sending the message to men that they should take control over their female charges. "Fidelia" writes that the singer "is not Man!—He is a Being more refin'd; and I am wretched, without Remedy!—I have heard some People report things, to his Prejudice; but I dare swear, It was all Envy. —The

Men, to be sure, cou'd never endure him, because the Women were so pleas'd with him; and besides, He *sings* so much finer than They can." The author states that she has been subjected to mockery because of her affections, but that she has rejected the advice of those who would warn her against Italian singers. Here, the danger that women might lose their reason because of an irrational love is raised. From the male perspective of the *Plain Dealer*, "Fidelia" has only been saved from absolute folly because she is unable to communicate with the Italian singer who does not speak English. The editor responds with "Let Her only find out what it is, she wou'd *do* with him: And, for what she has, to *say* to him," perhaps as consolation to his male readers that a sexual union between a castrato and a woman was unlikely. The potential danger to women who entertained such fancies for a castrato continued to be raised in the press, often satirically, during the 1720s. Gilman cites the oft-told but fanciful tale of a woman who turned into a hermaphrodite as the result of the enchantments of a castrato, complete with a penis which no petticoat could hide.[80]

The castrato was perceived by some in Britain as presenting a distinct threat to the traditions of heterosexual unions. A significant provocateur in this area was Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (ca. 1735–90). Tenducci made his first appearance in London in 1758, performing at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and the King's Theatre. Within his first year in London, he gave proof to society's worst fears about the ability of the castrato voice to undermine the prevailing norms. Tenducci attracted the attentions of Elizabeth, First Baroness Lyttelton, almost immediately after his arrival. She sent the young singer passionate love letters that became the talk of London after they were circulated. Relations between Elizabeth and her husband George were already strained because of earlier indiscretions and Lyttelton could not tolerate the resulting scandal. He used Elizabeth's letters to Tenducci as the grounds to sue for a formal separation. As Helen Berry notes, the Lyttelton episode was "a forewarning of [Tenducci's] ability to attract the devotion of women, and the ire of powerful men."[81] Tenducci did not go unpunished in the Lyttelton *cause célèbre* and his contract at the King's Theatre was not renewed the following year. He returned to London in early 1760 where he quickly re-established himself as a popular concert and operatic singer, and achieved one of his greatest operatic successes with the creation of the role of Arbaces in Arne's *Artaxerxes* in 1762.

Jailed on more than one occasion for debt, Tenducci's lifestyle should have made him a social pariah, yet he remained very popular with society. Within a decade of his success in Arne's opera, the singer was painted by Gainsborough in an evocative portrait that reveals his social prominence. He appears not to have had the symptoms of macroskelia that afflicted many castrati and caused them to become ungainly in appearance.[82] The attraction that woman had for Tenducci was reciprocated, and he often boasted of his sexual conquests. While in Dublin in 1765, he befriended the prominent Maunsell family, whose thirteen-year-old daughter, Dorothea, he taught. The two fell in love, thereby

crossing all accepted social boundaries. A clandestine Catholic wedding of dubious legality took place, resulting in the singer's arrest and his young wife's abduction by her family when the news broke of their marriage. Although forcibly separated, the couple remained determined to live as man and wife. Tenducci converted to Protestantism and they were remarried in 1767.[83] The singer returned alone to Britain in the fall of 1767 to avoid further animosity with Dorothea's family, but the couple was reunited the following year. They performed in the concerts of the Edinburgh Music Society in 1768, and Tenducci gradually re-established his career in Britain.[84] Dorothea Tenducci was reported to have given birth to a child in 1769 and Tenducci was "said to have issued an affidavit claiming to be the father."[85] That the couple had been allowed to remain married for two years is remarkable enough for the period, but to have a castrato claim paternity for a child was an offence against nature and religion. The Tenducci family fled Britain in 1771 to avoid creditors; while in Italy, Dorothea transferred her affections to William Long Kingsman.[86] Although in her published *A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr and Mrs Tenducci* (1768) Dorothea had earlier taken the stance that she and Tenducci had been the victims of parental cruelty and a misuse of the law,[87] she now claimed that her marriage to Tenducci was not binding in the sight of God. The marriage was finally annulled in London in February 1776 on the basis of non-consummation, and she and Kingsman eventually married. This was not achieved, however, without a lengthy trial, complete with lurid published accounts of the nature of their married lives.

From the social perspective of the period, Dorothea's rejection of Tenducci and their "marriage" would have been considered to be just treatment for Tenducci's presumption to lead a "normal" life. Tenducci remained on the Continent whilst the annulment proceedings took place in London. He did nothing to halt them, likely realizing that there was little to be gained in the attempt. Tenducci was nothing if not resilient, however. He performed with success in Italy until 1777, returning to London, and making that city his primary base until 1785. Although he was absent from London during Rauzzini's years at the King's Theatre, Tenducci had a continuing presence there in the form of the scandalous court case. What Rauzzini likely did not understand when he stepped foot on British soil is that he would be judged by seventy years of prejudice surrounding his voice type and the fear that he would prove to be another Tenducci who would subvert the patriarchal order.

Chapter Two

A Debut Season at the King's Theatre

1774–75

Rauzzini's First Season at the King's Theatre

After giving performances in Venice, Padua, and Turin in the spring and summer of 1774, Rauzzini arrived in London on September 19, 1774, well in advance of the beginning of the opera season. Rauzzini may have hoped that Britain would be the kind of "land of opportunity" that Haydn would describe to his biographer A. C. Dies some thirty years later.[1] This proved to be the case, for Rauzzini made Britain his home until his death in 1810. Rauzzini did not arrive alone: the *Public Advertiser* records on September 22, 1774, that Caterina Schindlerin and the tenor Pasini had travelled with him. All three were scheduled to make their London debuts in the *opere serie* to be given at the King's Theatre. Schindlerin had been hired on Rauzzini's recommendation to replace the British-born soprano Cecilia Davies (ca. 1756–1836), the *prima donna* during the previous season. Davies was locked in a controversy over clauses in her proposed contract that would have prevented her from singing anywhere but at the King's Theatre. She declined to sing during the 1774–75 season, preferring to sue the management for compensation over lost income.[2] As a result, Rauzzini was able to sing opposite his former student, someone whom he knew well and who would show him deference.

In addition to announcing the arrivals of Rauzzini, Schindlerin, and Pasini, the *Public Advertiser* published on September 22, 1774, the names of the entire company who had been engaged—ten singers in total—with three appearing in both comic and serious operas. From a modern perspective, presenting a full season of serious and comic operas with only ten soloists might seem foolhardy when there were few, if any, understudies. The distance from the Continent largely precluded emergency replacements if

someone took ill, a situation that affected the beginning of the season. The list of singers was: (Serious Opera): First Man, Signor Rauzzini; First Woman, Signora Caterina Schindlerin; Tenor, Signor Pasini; Second Woman, Signora Farinella; Second Man, Signora Galli; Last Man, Signor Vincenzo Sestini. (Comic Opera): First Buffo, Signor Lovattini; Second Buffo, Signor Fochetti; First Buffa, Signora. Sestini; Second Buffa, Signora Giordani (La Spiletta); Serious Man, Signora Galli; Third Buffa, Signor Vincenzo Sestini; Serious Woman, Signora Farinella.

Caterina Ruini Galli (1723–1804) performed as the Second Man in the *opera seria* performances and the Serious Man in the *opera buffa* performances. She had first appeared in London during the 1742–43 Italian opera season, and subsequently appeared in Handel's oratorio performances at Covent Garden between 1747–54. It is possible that she had studied with Handel; certainly, he came to rely on her for the performance of his oratorios. Galli created the roles of Othniel in *Joshua* (1748), the title role in *Solomon* (1749), and Irene in *Theodora* (1750), amongst others. Even at this point in Galli's career, it was not uncommon for her to portray male characters in both Italian opera and oratorio performances: Mount Edgcumbe records that "her figure [was] rather large and masculine."[3] The singer left Britain in 1754, but had returned to London by 1773 where she appeared in concerts, oratorio, and operatic performances. Galli was heard at the King's Theatre between 1773–76, usually singing secondary castrato parts. The reports of her singing vary greatly at this point in her career. Frances Burney referred to the singer as the "squalling Galli" and was relieved to hear that Gaspero Savoi was to replace her at the King's Theatre.[4] Other reports were far more complimentary. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported on January 21, 1775, that Galli's singing was "really excellent" in the *pasticcio* opera *Armida*. Her performance in *Montezuma* elicited similar praise from the same newspaper on February 8, 1775, and her performance at the Winchester Festival was also much praised in the *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser* on September 9–12, 1775. While using a woman to sing castrato parts was hardly unknown, it was usually a stop-gap measure on the Continent, most often undertaken in emergency situations. One can only assume that Rauzzini would have found this casting on a permanent basis for a season to be unusual.

Rauzzini's pressure on the management of the theater to hire Schindlerin earned him a scolding in Charles Burney's *A General History of Music*. By the time that the tome reached publication, Burney had tempered some of his earlier enthusiasm for Rauzzini. Instead, he reveals a calculating side to the singer's personality that was most often obscured by his polished manners and considerable charm. Schindlerin, rather like Rauzzini, was physically attractive, but had a small voice.[5] Burney paints a negative picture of her and castigates Rauzzini for wanting to appear in public with someone whose abilities were markedly inferior to his own:

> The Moderate abilities, and more feeble voice of the female singer SCHINDLERIN, were advantages to *him*, though none to the public. She was engaged at his recommendation, was a native of Germany, young, and by many thought handsome. Her figure was elegant and graceful on the stage, and she was a good actress. Off the stage, however, she was coquettish, silly, and insipid. Her voice was a mere thread, for the weakness of which there was neither taste nor knowledge to compensate. Indeed, she always appeared *on* the stage, what she really was *off* it, Rauzzini's scholar; and she was so inferior to him in voice and abilities, that he thought it necessary to lower himself to her level, in order to make her appear to more advantage. It is injudicious and dangerous to consult either the first man or the first woman, of an opera, about the performers they are to contend with for fame . . . Rauzzini made several ingenious manoeuvres to have the Schindlerin for his partner a second season. Singers of nearly equal abilities, though of different kinds, regard one another with horror; reciprocally imagining that all the applause gained by their colleague is at their own expense.[6]

When Rauzzini arrived in London the King's Theatre was under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Yates and Mrs. John (Frances) Brooke. Elizabeth Gibson asserts that this trio appears to have had a secondary motive in taking over the management of Italian opera at the King's Theatre. Frances Brooke was a playwright who found it difficult to get her plays produced, and Mary Ann Yates was a celebrated tragic actress. When they were refused permission to produce spoken plays at the King's Theatre by the Lord Chamberlain, the managers eventually left the theater.[7] Presenting spoken drama at the King's Theatre as a means of subsidizing the more expensive Italian opera was hardly a new idea, and had been proposed at various times (as recently as 1770), but always been refused by the Lord Chamberlain's Office. While waiting for a final word on their application, the managers economized at the King's Theatre, presenting productions that were noted for their lack of ostentation. Just how they contracted Rauzzini is not known for certain, although Burney was likely consulted, and John Udney, Consul at Venice in 1773–74, probably given the task of proposing a contract.[8] The exact terms of that contract remain unknown, although it is possible to estimate his earnings.

Research in the area of opera salaries in eighteenth-century London undertaken by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume shows that as early as 1708 foreign singers demanded large salaries to perform in the capital, thereby establishing "a pattern of extravagance that was permanently to haunt the Italian opera in London."[9] Star singers could expect a substantial base salary as well as the proceeds of a benefit night that could increase their salary by half. During the 1741–42 opera season, the *primo uomo*, Angelo Maria Monticelli, was paid a base salary of £1,000.[10] It would appear that these amounts were too much for the management and when Felice Giardini took over the company in the mid-1760s he instructed his agent to propose a salary of £712 to

Antonio Mazziotti to appear as *primo uomo*. Mazziotti was a second-best choice, Domenico Luciani having demanded an impossible £1,500 for a London season. Giovanni Manzuoli subsequently appeared in London for that amount, but his salary was guaranteed by the firm of Orsi and Company. Fewer records survive for the decade of the 1770s; however, the court proceedings which resulted from a dispute between the King's Theatre and Cecilia Davies indicate that her salary was £1,000 and that her benefit evening was estimated at a further £500.[11] Ian Woodfield conjectures, based on records of winter and spring payments to the singer from Hoare & Co. of £366 13s 4d, that Rauzzini's salary during his years at the King's Theatre was £1,100 per annum. Such an annual salary would appear to be in keeping with the salary stated for Cecilia Davies, given that Rauzzini was the more famous singer. The amount would not have been unwarranted for the *primo uomo* of the company. Such a base salary when added to a benefit night would have allowed the singer to live very comfortably. It was an auspicious beginning for a career in a new country.[12]

Rauzzini's debut in London was on November 8, 1774, in the *pasticcio* opera *Armida*. The press of the day attributed the libretto to Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli, although he is listed on the published libretto only as the translator. The musical direction had been entrusted to Tommaso Giordani (ca. 1730–1806). Originally scheduled to open on November 1, 1774, the *Public Advertiser* announced on October 29, 1774, that the opening of the season had been postponed at the request of the Nobility and the Gentry. The delay may have served to heighten anticipation, as noted by Frances Burney, but it ultimately increased the disappointment over the failure of the opera itself.[13] The *Whitehall Evening Post* stated the "opera has the general defect of all pasticcio's [*sic*], the want of proper light and shade in the disposition of the songs." The *Westminster Magazine* stated that "a more tedious, heavy performance than *Armida* was never seen or heard upon any stage. The music had neither novelty nor variety to recommend it."[14] There was rather more praise for the singers on opening night but, even here, there were criticisms raised. The *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser* of November 8–10, 1774, reported that Schindlerin and Rauzzini "executed their airs with a good deal of taste; their action, is graceful, but their voices are neither of them very powerful." This would not be the last time that Rauzzini's lack of power in a theater would raise critical comment. On this occasion, however, Rauzzini was ill, and Frances Burney comments that at "his first appearance, he had the disadvantage of a terrible Cold."[15] Two subsequent postponements to the continuation of the season were announced (November 12 and 15), and it was not until November 19 that Rauzzini had recovered sufficiently to take the stage again. His debut, then, was hardly what he would have wished for—he appeared in an unpopular opera when he could not give his best vocally.

Subsequent reviews praised his acting, but were uncommitted as to his singing. The *Public Advertiser* on November 22, 1774, commented on Rauzzini's

"handsome Person and the Bloom of his Season of Life, with the most sensible, graceful, and judicious Action, which has acquired him the Name of the Italian Roscius."[16] The paper declined to comment on his singing, preferring to quote Charles Burney: "In the Execution of these Airs Signor Rauzzini manifested great and captivating Power, a sweet and extensive Voice, a rapid Brilliancy of Execution, great Expression, and an exquisite and judicious Taste." Burney's high praise may have been an attempt to sway public opinion, since aspects of his statements appear to be at odds with other reviews. Rauzzini's "captivating Power" was not universally acknowledged, and if Burney had been responsible in any way for Rauzzini being hired, it is possible that he felt obliged to exaggerate the success of the debut in order to save face.

Armida did not please audiences and the opera was set aside during December while alterations were made to the score. During this time, the company's performances were reduced from twice to once a week, with *La buona figliuola* as the only offering. On January 3, 1775, notices were published in the London newspapers advertising "Alterations, a new Duet, and new Songs, by several eminent Masters," for *Armida*, and listed the music of Anfossi, Galuppi, Vento, [J. C. Bach], Sacchini, and Bertoni as having been added to the score. The new music may have created more musical variety in the score; however, it likely only compounded the problem of a lack of stylistic unity. Comments in a letter published in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on January 7, 1775, questioned the wisdom of the alterations:

> now I see *Armida* advertised with alterations. Pray, Sir, what alterations do you mean? A ragged coat can be but patched for the worse. I do not know what the Opera of Armida might be in the original, but the pruning, or rather butchering knife of the celebrated Signor Bottarelli, has murdered it in a most suave manner. He kills Armida in the first act, then stabs her again in the second, and sends her to hell in the last; which, indeed, is the usual catastrophe of all his pieces. But I shall not dwell any longer on the subject of the poetry, for everyone knows that no Italian drama can stand the test of critical investigation.[17]

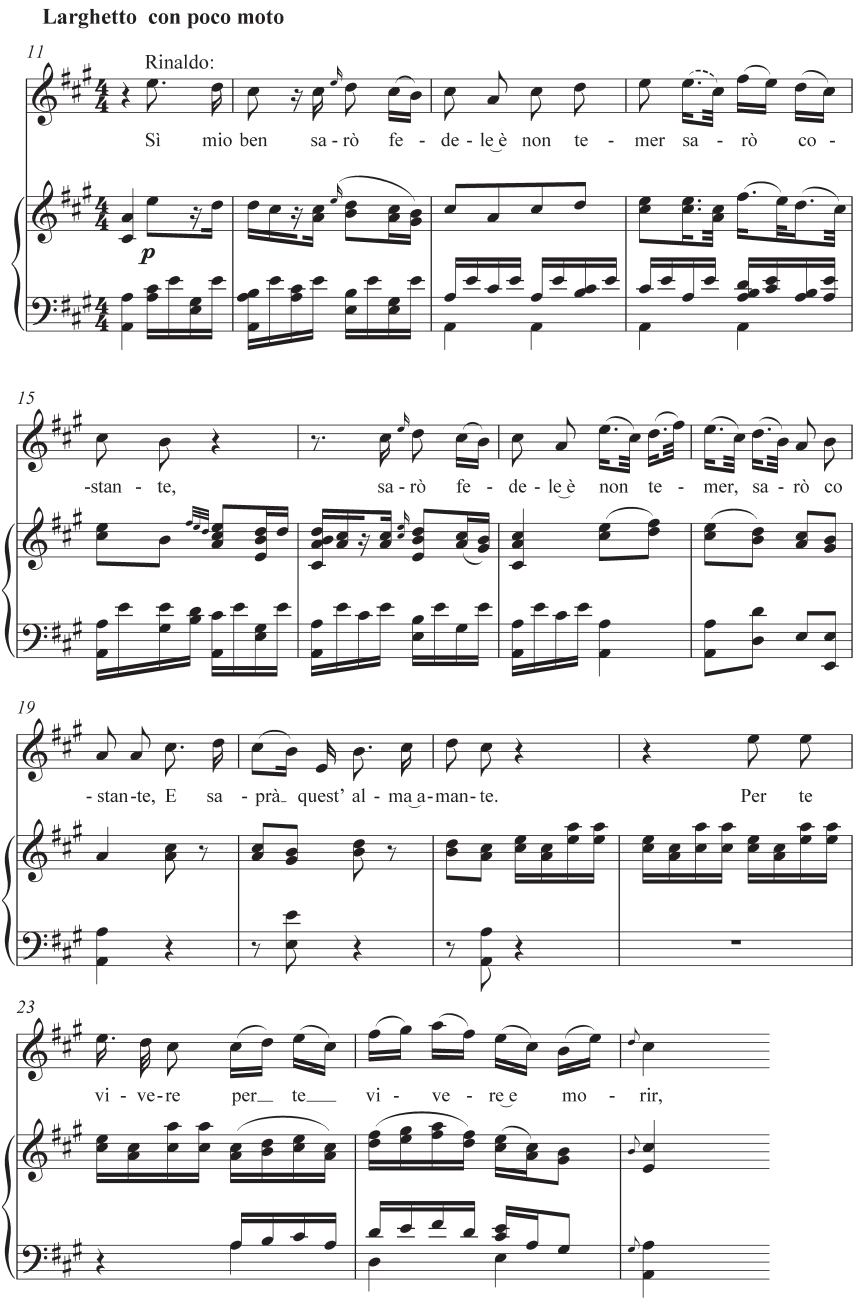
In spite of the national prejudice against foreign drama, the comments about the patchwork quality of the opera ring true. Bottarelli's biggest failing in the libretto appears to have been the removal of Armida's magical powers. In the process, he transformed Armida from a fearsome sorceress to a commonplace nag. The drama suffered greatly as a result.

Rauzzini made a double debut as composer and singer in this opera, having composed the music of his own arias.[18] While this was a potentially risky undertaking for a debut, the choice brought him considerable attention and it gave Rauzzini the opportunity to sing music that played to his strengths rather than reveal any weaknesses. The gamble proved to be successful. The same letter in the *Morning Post*, mentioned above, states that the "first and second songs

of Signor Rauzzini, which, I am told, were set by himself, are very well suited to the English taste, as they are in that easy, popular style, that immediately catches the ears of the audience; and of course they had a good effect, especially the rondeau." The London publisher Bremner released a selection of arias from the *pasticcio*, including one by Rauzzini, "Sì mio ben saro fedele."[19] This was the "rondeau" that had been highlighted in the *Morning Post*. The aria may have been a late addition to the opera, as its text is not found in Bottarelli's published libretto. The text is actually by Nicola Giuseppe Morbilli and is taken from his opera *La disfatta di Dario*, first heard in Turin during the Carnival season of 1774 in a musical setting by Giovanni Masi. It appears that this text was subsequently added to the adaptation of Metastasio's libretto for *L'eroe cinese* that was presented in Venice in May of 1774 as *Narbale*. Since Rauzzini sang in the premieres of both operas, it is possible that the addition to *Narbale* came from his suggestion.[20] For his London debut, Rauzzini was credited with composing his own setting of the text and he gained considerable praise for his efforts.

The aria was published in full score, and contains parts for oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, and strings. Rauzzini's orchestration is sophisticated and effective throughout, making use of pizzicato writing in the strings and contrasting the wind timbres effectively. The simplicity of his vocal lines is in stark contrast to *opera seria* works by other composers that are dependent upon extravagant coloratura singing to achieve effects. The vocal line is rhythmically active, but there is only a brief coloratura flourish near the end. The music is typical of Rauzzini's style, evident in his later music, and bearing many of the hallmarks of Gluck's vocal simplicity. Whether or not Rauzzini set out to compose to English tastes in this aria cannot be proved at this late date; indeed, it is possible that he had composed the music for the *Narbale* performances in Venice. His approach to setting the text is highly organic. The melody, while attractive, is only part of a larger picture in which orchestration, varied textures, and subtle shadings of expression are equally important. The hint of a drone bass in places enhances the pastoral character of the music, qualities that may have influenced the author of the letter in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*.

The author of the letter in the *Morning Post* also praised Rauzzini's singing extravagantly, stating that he was "undoubtedly superior to Guadagni in every respect." Of Schindlerin, the author mentions her "bewitching figure," but the absence of any remark about her singing may be significant. It is always possible that such letters were contrived by the company to encourage interest in a new singer or a new opera. In the present case, however, the beginning of the letter bears a stinging condemnation of the theater's presentation of *pasticcio* works (*Armida*, in particular) that the management would hardly have encouraged. The letter further makes a call for the revival of Gluck's *Orfeo*, claiming that this opera had enjoyed the greatest success of any serious opera in Britain.

Example 2.1. Rauzzini, *Armida*, "Sì mio ben sarò fedele," mm. 11–25.

Larghetto con poco moto
11
Rinaldo:
Sì mio ben sa - rò fe - de - le è non te - mer sa - rò co -
p
15
-stan - te, sa - rò fe - de - le è non te - mer, sa - rò co
19
- stan - te, E sa - prà quest' al - ma a - man - te. Per te
23
vi - ve - re per te vi - ve - re e mo - rir,

The comment is of particular interest, given that aspects of Rauzzini's *Piramo e Tisbe* appear to have been much influenced by the "reformed" operas of Gluck, and his *Orfeo* in particular. This point will be examined in more detail below.

Other operas in which Rauzzini sang during his first season in London included Corri's *Alessandro nell'Indie* (December 3, 1774), Sacchini's *Montezuma* (February 7, 1775), his own *Piramo e Tisbe* (March 16, 1775), and *La diffesa d'amore*, a *pasticcio* (May 6, 1775). Rauzzini appears to have recovered from his earlier indisposition by the time of the premiere of Corri's opera, as the *Public Advertiser* commented on December 7, 1774, that the singer's "fine Voice and exquisite Taste" had been demonstrated to great advantage. Similarly, the *Middlesex Journal* reported on December 3, 1774, that both Schindlerin and Rauzzini had exerted "themselves to the best of their abilities, particularly in the last scene of the first act." Corri's opera, however, came under fire in the same journal, which found it "a barren hodge-podge; there is not one pleasing air throughout the whole, and it is beside quite destitute of novelty." The comment that "upon the whole, the opera proved even worse than Armida" was unfortunate for Corri, whom Rauzzini had known as a student in Rome. Truly, the opera season had got off to a particularly sticky start. Given the vocal competition from the concerts presented at the Pantheon in London, the managers of the King's Theatre had good reason for concern.[21] They appear to have pinned their hopes on the premiere of a new opera by Antonio Sacchini, promised for February: *Montezuma*.

Antonio Sacchini (1730–86) had spent much time in London since 1772. His elegant melodic style, coupled with a well-developed dramatic sense, had found favor in London. The composer's *Il Cid* had received twenty-two performances in 1773, and his *Lucio Vero* and *Perseo* had achieved sixteen and seventeen performances respectively during the previous season.[22] Ian Woodfield notes that the arrival of Sacchini marked a successful return to the performance of original serious operas at the King's Theatre as opposed to *pasticcio* works.[23] *Pasticcio* operas might appeal to those who only wanted to hear favorite arias within a staged context but the more discerning members of the audience realized that these works were not dramas told through a single, coherent musical voice. Worse yet, the newspaper critics were beginning to draw attention to the situation, as noted above. The hope that the successful premiere of a new opera by Sacchini would help revive the flagging Italian opera season was largely realized. *Montezuma* was well received, in spite of complaints from some quarters about Ferdinando Bottarelli's libretto. The music was applauded, especially the composer's choral writing. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on February 8, 1775, even went so far as to report that the choruses were "set in a manner, so as to be put on a level with the best of Handel. We may boldly venture to affirm, that we never had a better opera in the Hay-market in point of music." The opera received eleven performances and, while perhaps not as successful as the previous season's *Il Cid*, it was far from a failure.

It must have been a further relief to the management of the King's Theatre that the singers in the production were well reviewed. The *Morning Post* relates that "the principal Singers did the strictest justice to the Composer. Signor Rauzzini was encored twice, and Signora Scinderling [*sic*] was received with a thundering applause. The music was so skilfully adapted to the voice, that they had a fair opportunity of giving a full scope to their abilities." The *Middlesex Journal* recorded on February 18, 1775, that the King and Queen were much taken by the "enchanting notes of Signor Rauzzini, in the character of Montezuma" when they attended a performance. Philharmonicus (writing in the *Morning Post* of February 13, 1775) stated "I never heard an Italian sing the *cantabile* with more taste than Rauzzini, nor did I ever see a better actor on an Italian stage." Frances Burney was much taken with the opera itself, and declared that Rauzzini was only second to Millico as a singer.[24] As to the production of the work, it appears to have been costumed extravagantly, if bizarrely. The opera is set in Mexico and tells the story of the Spaniards entry into the capital city. Elizabeth Gibson reproduces an engraving of Schindlerin and Rauzzini in a scene from *Montezuma* which reveals the singers in elaborate and completely unrealistic costumes in front of a very plain backdrop.[25] As Ian Woodfield observes, the opera contained many opportunities for Rauzzini to demonstrate his acting talents, and his death scene, in particular, gained the praise from the distinguished actor David Garrick.[26]

That Garrick would make complimentary comments about Rauzzini's acting, and do so publicly, is telling. R. J. S. Stevens, the London organist, attended a performance of *Montezuma* and happened to go on stage afterward, where he heard Garrick praising Rauzzini for his "admirable expression of the character of Montezuma."[27] Stevens crossed paths again with Rauzzini on January 13, 1804, in Bath, where Stevens had gone to take the waters. Stevens recounts that Rauzzini was delighted to have been reminded of Garrick's comments, especially since it was both his singing and his acting that had impressed the famous actor.

Rauzzini's musical excellence, good looks, and polished manners quickly made him a favorite of fashionable London society. In addition to the Burney household, Rauzzini was particularly welcomed in the home of James Harris (1709–80) when that musical family was in London. Their daughter, Louisa, was a harp player and singer of sufficient skill to have performed with professional musicians, albeit privately. Sacchini was also a guest in the Harris home; it was here that he rehearsed his *Miserere* on March 9, 1775, with Rauzzini, Savoi, Pasini, and Louisa Harris.[28] That Louisa Harris would be invited to sing with members of the King's Theatre might be dismissed as a mere obligation to the family, but her skills appear to have been considerable.

Piramo e Tisbe (*azione tragica* in 2 acts)

Rauzzini's benefit evening was given on March 16, 1775, when he displayed his prowess as both singer and composer by performing in an opera entirely of his own composition, *Piramo e Tisbe*. This appears to have been the first time in London that a castrato singer was the sole composer of an Italian opera. While the evening was an artistic triumph for Rauzzini, the unknown opera did not draw a large audience. Mrs. Harris writes that "all the consolation the good-humoured man had was that he had the very best company in town."[29] In part, the empty house might have resulted from the failure of a ballet on the same theme by Simonin Vallouis at the start of the season. Those who attended the London premiere of *Piramo e Tisbe*, however, were quick to report on the beauty of Rauzzini's composition. The opera was repeated on eight subsequent evenings, the last being June 24, 1775.[30] The cast for the London premiere consisted of Rauzzini (Piramo), Caterina Schindlerin (Tisbe), Signor Pasini (Eupalte), and Signora Galli (Corebo). It appears that Rauzzini wrote the part of Corebo for a castrato voice, but had to make do with Signora Galli in 1775. The role was given the following year to Gaspero Savoi, and to Angelo Monanni (Manzoletto) in 1781, both castrati.

That Rauzzini was both the star and composer of the opera had aroused considerable interest in London. Although not a full-length opera (being in two acts, although the newspaper advertisements appear to indicate that it was played in three, with a grand ballet at the end of each), it was a serious work. The implications of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, would-be lovers separated by their fathers, could hardly have been lost on either the opera's creator or its audiences. As a castrato composer, and the singer of the part of Piramo, the gulf that separated the lives of the castrati from those of traditional society was as real as the wall that separated Pyramus from Thisbe. Given that this is the only opera by Rauzzini for which a complete score can be found, the following discussion will be in greater depth than for his other operas where complete scores are no longer extant.

The libretto was an adaptation of that written by Marco Coltellini (1719–77), who succeeded Metastasio as the Imperial Poet at the Hapsburg Court in 1763. The original text was intended for Johann Hasse (1699–1783), whose setting was produced at the Burg Theater in Vienna in 1768 and subsequently at the Laxenburg estate, outside of Vienna, in 1770. It is not known when Rauzzini first became aware of the libretto, but it may have been shortly after his debut in Vienna in 1767. Comparison of the versions set by Hasse and Rauzzini reveals significant changes, however. Lamberto Lugli writes that these alterations represent a remaking of the text rather than just a revision. Coltellini's original text is expanded by the addition of a new character (Corebo), and a rewriting of significant portions of act 2 in the new version.[31]

There is also greater attention to specific details and Tisbe's previously anonymous father is now given the name of Eupalte. It is not known with certainty who revised the original libretto, although Ranieri de' Calzabigi (1714–95) is listed on the score of the opera in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Ms.Mus.17829); Lugli explores the possibility of Calzabigi having undertaken such a revision.[32]

Seven examplars of the libretto set by Rauzzini are extant. Three versions were published in London, in 1775, 1776, and 1781, for productions at the King's Theatre, all with English translations. The translator's name was not given in 1775, but is listed as F[erdinando] Bottarelli in 1776.[33] Botarelli may also have been the author of the 1775 translation, since the recitative translations are largely the same in both publications. The difference lies in the aria texts: prose in 1775, but poetry in 1776.[34] For the revival of 1781, the libretto was printed by E. Cox in a version that contains a different (anonymous) translation to those found in the earlier London publications. Four Continental versions also are extant. The first is that contained in the manuscript score in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, which relates to performances given at the Theater am Kärntnertor (Vienna), beginning December 31, 1776.[35] The libretto was also published by Kurzböck in Vienna in 1777.[36] Performances of the opera were given in the Piccolo Teatro (Brunsvic-Luneburg) in the spring of 1782, and a copy of the published libretto for those performances survives.[37] Another manuscript copy of the score can be found in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale di Bologna.[38]

There is one rather significant difference between the published London libretti and the various Continental sources. While the texts for all seven sources for act 1 largely agree, there are significant differences in act 2. All three London libretti present a scene in which Eupalte rages against his daughter's perfidy, while Corebus takes a more measured view of the situation. The Continental sources open with a scene for Eupalte alone, which is followed by a scene for the two characters that expands upon the material found in act 2, scene 1 of the London libretti. Scene 3 of the Continental sources is the same as scene 2 of the London libretti. The result is that the Continental sources all have five scenes in act 2, while the three London libretti have four. The geographic separation of this libretto variant, maintained over a period of seven years, suggests that the London revision was not performed on the Continent.

The story of Pyramus and Thisbe, a part of Roman mythology as told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, would likely have been familiar to audiences of the day. In Ovid's tale, two young, attractive, would-be lovers in ancient Babylon lived in adjoining houses. When their warring parents realize that the two are falling in love, they prevent them from having any contact. The young couple communicate through a crack in the wall that separated their respective dwellings, and ultimately decide to meet at the Tomb of Ninus, where whoever arrived first would wait at the foot of a white mulberry tree next to a spring. Thisbe arrives

first, but is frightened when a lioness, fresh from a successful hunt, comes to drink from the spring. Fleeing, she drops her veil which is then bloodied by the lioness. Upon arrival, Pyramus recognizes Thisbe's bloodied veil and the footprints of the lioness. Fearing that Thisbe has been killed, he plunges a sword into his chest, and his blood causes the white mulberries on the tree to turn red. When Thisbe hesitantly returns, she discovers both the change in the mulberry tree and her lover in his death agonies. Realizing Pyramus's error, she resolves to join him in death. Before ending her life with Pyramus's sword, she prays that they be permitted to lie in the same tomb and that the mulberry tree should forever bring forth colored fruit in their memory. In the discussion of the text that follows, the English translation found in the 1776 London publication of the libretto has been used.

Coltellini introduced several significant divergences from Ovid's tale. The two young lovers are introduced together in the same room, Piramo having constructed a passageway that allows him access to Tisbe's house. They decide that only the intervention of Queen Semiramis can force Eupalte to permit their union. Piramo exits at the sound of Eupalte and his friend Corebo approaching. While Corebo advises Eupalte to "let anger be but transitory," Eupalte remains unmoved, and he tells Tisbe that she must marry a man of his choosing when they leave Babylon. When she objects, he upbraids Tisbe for her obstinacy. After Eupalte exits, Piramo reappears and the two lovers resolve to flee that very night.

The bulk of the changes introduced into Coltellini's original text take place in act 2, where different perspectives on the ensuing tragedy are presented from those of the original text set by Hasse. In the revised form, act 2 opens with Eupalte's rage over Tisbe's failure to obey him, whilst Corebo attempts to calm his friend and shine the light of reason on the situation. Eupalte and Corebo set out to find Tisbe and bring her to justice. Thereafter, the story unfolds much as in Ovid, with the business of the lioness being handled in a dumb show accompanied by a "short symphony." When Tisbe returns, she finds the dying Piramo and resolves to join in him death. At this point, her father, Corebo and a retinue of armed people carrying torches enter and discover the dying lovers. The opera ends thus:

> Eupalte: Ye gods! My thread of life destroy!
> For life no more can give me joy.
> Corebo: What sorrows on himself he's brought!
> These scenes of woe his rigour wrought.

The plot, as found in the revised text, shifts the dramatic focus away a tale of warring families to that of an unhappy father-daughter relationship. Eupalte's hatred is seemingly against Piramo, personally, rather than his family; indeed, Piramo's family is not mentioned in the text. This aspect of the libretto

might have been strengthened had Eupalte's reasons for hating Piramo been explained. Presenting Piramo and Tisbe in the same room in the opening scene was likely a scenic exigency, as bifurcating the playing stage with a wall would have created staging complications and potentially caused musical problems for the two singers. A semiotic reading of the text invites certain speculations, for had the libretto retained Ovid's original setting, the gulf separating the *musico* in a romantic relationship with a woman might have been all the more apparent. As presented by the librettist, Piramo's quest for Tisbe is made far more likely to be successful, given that he has physical access to her. On one level, it might be seen as lessening the pathos of the lover's plight as presented by Ovid. On the other, it makes the situation of the symbolic nature of Piramo as *musico* even more vivid. Here, the *musico* comes close to gaining traditional acceptance as a natural man and the benefits of that status, only to lose it all through a misinterpretation of subsequent events.

Other changes to Ovid's setting remove the interference of the gods in the story, thereby making the plot totally concerned with mortals. This is demonstrated by the omission of the fruit of the mulberry tree changing color. Without divine interference, man is the master of his own destiny in this tale, thus making the moral as announced by Corebo (see above) very much in line with Enlightenment thinking. By trying to force his will on his daughter, Eupalte has ultimately brought about her death and his own unhappiness. Patriarchal willfulness also, by extension, causes Piramo's demise, and points to patriarchal traditions equaling those of the societal conventions that set the *musico* outside the accepted social norms.

There was considerable speculation about the first London production. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on March 14, 1775, printed a notice (possibly a puff) that stated that "some real *connoisseurs*" who had attended rehearsals of the new opera attested to the high quality of the music. The report also indicates that the lavish new costumes and decorations had been ordered by Rauzzini so as "to enhance the pleasure of the public." Given how widely spread the stories had become concerning Tenducci's scandalous attempt at a "traditional" marriage, Rauzzini's opera about a forbidden love likely developed a special, and not necessarily positive, resonance with audiences, given that its composer was also a castrato and singing the leading male role. Could this have been a possible reason why the attendance at the premiere was surprisingly small? The critical response to the new opera was highly positive after the first performance. The *Middlesex Journal* reported on May 6, 1775, that "the music of the piece is thoroughly enchanting and infinite honour to Signor Rauzzini who shews himself not only the most delightful singer, but also one of the best composers of Italy."

Rauzzini was adequately partnered by Caterina Schindlerin as Tisbe, said to have sung the role previously in Italy. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on March 18, 1775, records that the "last scene in particular between Signor

Rauzzini and Signora Schindlerin was so very moving and affecting that it drew forceful tears from the audience. . . . The passionate grief of the two unfortunate lovers . . . is coloured in a most tender and sensible manner. Their last dying notes convey to the inmost of our heart the energy of their anguishing tortures." After the poor attendance of the opening night, *Piramo e Tisbe* proved to be a surprising success for the theater in a season where success had not often been experienced.

Musical Score

The choice of voice ranges for the four characters in the opera might appear somewhat unbalanced to modern ears with three soprano voices and one tenor, but no low male voice or any choral singing. With more characters in the plot, it might have been possible to address this imbalance. While the presence of the two Continental manuscript full scores (listed above) is a great benefit, it is still unfortunate that no full score from the London performances of the opera has survived.[39] The Austrian score served as the basis of performances given at the Theater am Kärntnertor (Vienna) in 1776/77, when Caterina Schindlerin sang the role of Piramo and her sister, Anna Maria [Marianne] Lange, sang the role of Tisbe. In addition to the two manuscripts in full scores, copies of the overture, and some of the arias are to be found in various libraries.[40] Furthermore, the London publisher Bremner published extended excerpts from the opera in full score as a cantata. This approach likely provided greater potential for performance outside of the opera house, especially by concert societies for which the entire opera would be too long or too costly to perform. Only music for the title characters is represented, but the plot situations are adequately portrayed. Bremner's arrangement was cleverly done in that it is not merely a selection of arias but, rather, preserves entire scenes or long continuous portions of them.[41] The following portions of the opera that were published in this manner:

Act 1, scene 1, complete: "Invan ti struggi," aria for Tisbe
Act 1, scene 3, the central portion of this scene, including the duet, "Pur ti reveggo al fine!"
Act 1, scene 2, Tisbe's recitative and aria: "Son pur giunta / Infelice! In tanto orror"
Act 1, scene 3, Piramo's final scene (complete, except for the final lines of recitative), "Grazie al ciel / Così la tranquilla / Ma s'avvanza la notte! / Deh, non varcar quell'onda."

Rauzzini's music was not much condensed for the Bremner publication, with only the viola part not always receiving its own separate line in the music. The score calls for two flutes, two oboes, bassoon, two horns, and strings. The

oboists were not intended to double as flute players as the instruments are heard simultaneously in some passages. The bass line is figured throughout.

As mentioned above, it would not appear that the 1775 London revisions to the beginning of act 2 were known on the Continent. Otherwise, the near-contemporaneous score used in Vienna follows the London libretti and the portions of the opera that were published by Bremner. This situation might appear to suggest that the Viennese score represents the opera as it had been performed prior to Rauzzini's move to London. The following outline of the opera presents the contents of the Viennese score in the left column, with the contents of the Bremner publication and/or the published London libretti indicated in the right column (table 2.1).

The purely orchestral passages reveal Rauzzini's confidence with orchestration, especially in his use of woodwind instruments to create contrasting timbres. The overture is of particular interest because of its sophisticated symphonic qualities. Although brief (123 measures), it is cast as a fully recapitulatory sonata form. The opening theme has strong rhythmic qualities, and its triadic rising melody is reminiscent of Mannheim "rocket themes." The brief development section is effective, and the vigorous coda capitalizes upon the rhythmic qualities of the first theme. The manuscript of the overture held at the University of Texas at Austin (Finney 8) has a title page that clearly states "Londra 1775," and the same music is found in the Vienna manuscript. Surprisingly, however, the overture was not originally composed for the opera: rather, it is drawn from the final movement of Rauzzini's *Sinfonia in D*, with which it is identical.[42] Since the known full scores of *Piramo e Tisbe* all contain the same overture, it appears to have been Rauzzini's common practice to reuse this movement of the symphony in the opera. He must have composed it during his years on the Continent, and its symphonic style invites the conjecture that the symphony also stems from his years in Munich.[43]

Once past the overture, there are several indications that Rauzzini emulated Gluck's "reformed" operas in his own music. If the music for *Piramo e Tisbe* was composed as early as 1769, Gluck's *Orfeo* was then only seven years old, while his *Alceste* had been given its premiere just two years previously, on December 26, 1767. Rauzzini had performed in Vienna that autumn, shortly before *Alceste* was presented, and although he did not sing in *Alceste*, he would likely have been very aware of Gluck's approach to operatic composition. Strangely, Rauzzini is not known to have ever sung in *Orfeo* or any other opera by Gluck before 1782, when he performed the role of Amor in *Orfeo* during a concert performance in Bath. Rauzzini set much of the text for *Piramo* syllabically; his melodic style is expressive but largely text-driven. This is displayed in the opening aria of the opera, Tisbe's "Invan ti struggi," which achieved considerable popularity in London. Rauzzini's approach follows the principles laid down by Gluck in the preface to *Alceste*, most noticeably in the absence of *da capo* arias and vocal display in the score.

Table 2.1. Comparison of manuscript and published sources for *Piramo e Tisbe*

Autograph full score, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Ms. Mus.17829)	Bremner publication/London libretti
Act 1	
[1–29] Intrada, $\frac{4}{4}$, D major; 2 ob, 2 tr, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	[not in the Bremner publication]
scene 1	
[30–35] "Invan ti stuggi" [Tisbe], A major, $\frac{2}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 vl, vla, basso.	4–5. "Invan ti stuggi" [Tisbe], A major, $\frac{2}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[36–38] "Piramo ah, dove sei?" [Tisbe and Piramo], E major/B minor, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.	6. "Piramo ah, dove sei?" [Tisbe and Piramo], E major/B minor, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.
[39–60] "Pur ti riveggo" [Piramo and Tisbe], E major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed duet, 2 fl, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	6–10. "Pur ti riveggo" [Piramo and Tisbe], E major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed duet, 2 fl, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[61–66] "Ma quale nume amico" [Piramo and Tisbe], B minor/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple, then accompanied recitative, 2 vl, basso. The simple recitative is crossed out in this score, from "ma quale numer amico" to "e col pianto; e l'irritai."	11–12. "Ma quale nume amico" [Piramo and Tisbe], B minor/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 vl, basso.
[67–82] "Per pietà deh, calma" [Piramo], E-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	12–15. "Per pietà deh, calma" [Piramo], E-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
scene 2	
[83–84] "Fuggi, viene Corebo" [Tisbe & Corebo], D minor, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.	[none of scene 2 is included in the Bremner publication, but the Austrian score conforms to the published London libretti]
[85–99] "Se al mio pregar" [Corebo], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed aria, 2 vl, vla, basso.	
[100–02] "Figlia, udisti?" [Eupalte & Tisbe], simple recitative, fluctuating tonality, $\frac{4}{4}$.	
[103–13] "Perderò l'amato bene" [Tisbe], G major, $\frac{3}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 vl, vla, basso.	

Table 2.1.—*(continued)*

[114] "Invan ti affanni" [Eupalte], fluctuating tonality, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.	
[115–54] "A' tuoi sospiri" [Eupalte], C major, $\frac{3}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	
scene 3	
[155–64] "Ah, già parti" [Tisbe & Piramo], G major, $\frac{3}{4}$, through-composed duet, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	[not in the Bremner publication, but conforms to published London libretti]
[165–72] "Oh deluse speranza!" [Tisbe & Piramo], G major/C major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 vl, vla, basso.	16–17. "Oh deluse speranza!" [Tisbe & Piramo], G major/C major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 [vl], vla, basso.
[173–93] "Fuggiam dove sicura" [Piramo], G major, 6/8, ternary aria, 2 fl, 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	18–22. "Fuggiam dove sicurra" [Piramo], G major, $\frac{6}{8}$, ternary aria, 2 fl, 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[194–96] "Taci: non più" [Tisbe & Piramo], G minor/E major, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.	[the remainder of the act is not found in the Bremner publication, but the Austrian score conforms to the published London libretti]
[197–230] "Che mai temer porei" [Piramo & Tisbe], A major/E major/A major, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed duet, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	
[231] blank	
[232] Act 2	
scene 1	
[233] "Fuggì l'indegna" [Eupalte & Corebo], D major, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.	[not included in the Bremner publication, but present in the published London libretti]
[234–38] "Misero padre" [Eupalte], G minor, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 vl, vla, basso.	[not found in the Bremner publication or the published London libretti]
[238–240] "A te di re novelle" [Eupalte & Correbo], $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative, fluctuating tonality.	[not found in the Bremner publication or the published London libretti]
[241–72] "Del mio paterno affetto" [Eupalte], A major, $\frac{4}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	[not included in the Bremner publication, but present in the published London libretti]

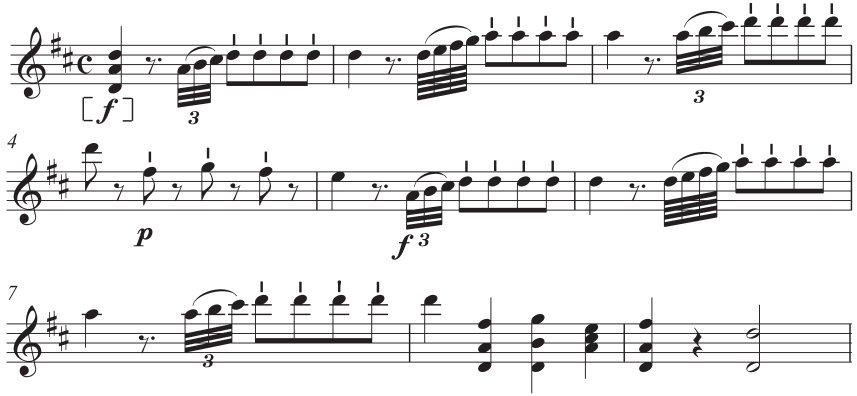
Table 2.1.—*(continued)*

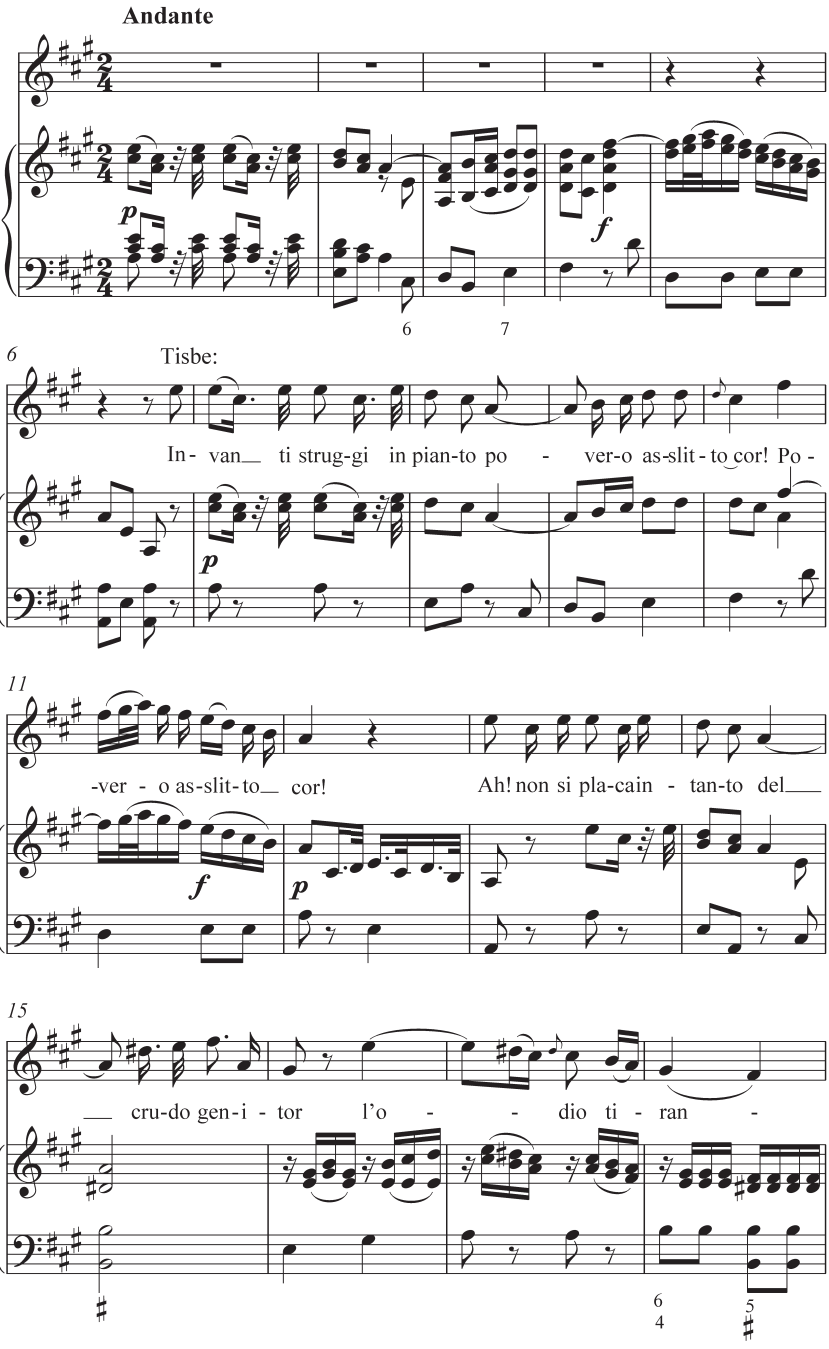
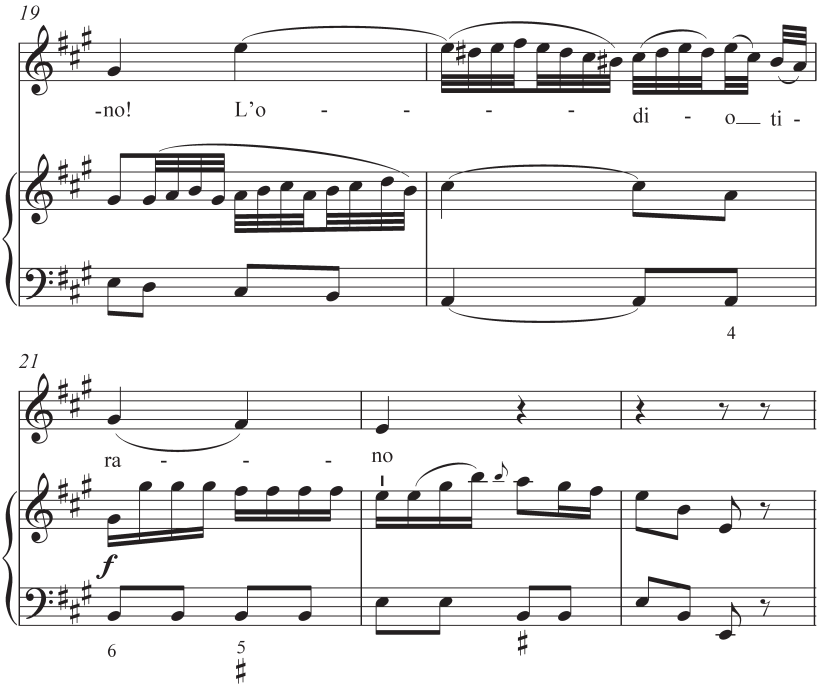
[273–74],"Io lo compiango" [Corebo], fluctuating tonality, $\frac{4}{4}$, simple recitative.	[not included in the Bremner publication, but present in the published London libretti]
[274–88] "Chi perde i figli" [Corebo], G major, $\frac{3}{4}$, ternary aria, 2 vl, vla, basso.	[not included in the Bremner publication, but present in the published London libretti]
scene 2	
[288–94] "Son pur giunta" [Tisbe & Piramo], C major/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 vl, vla, basso.	23–24. "Son pur giunta" [Tisbe], C major/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 vl, basso.
[295–324] "Infelice! In tanto orror" [Tisbe], B-flat major, ¢, rondo aria, 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	24–29. "Infelice! In tanto orror" [Tisbe], B-flat major, ¢, rondo aria, 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[325] "Misera! Ancor non viene!" [Tisbe], $\frac{4}{4}$, G minor, simple recitative.	[not included in the Bremner publication, but present in the published London libretti.
[scene 3], designation not given in manuscript	
[342–53] "Grazie al ciel" [Piramo], C major/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 fl, [bn], 2 vl, basso.	30–31. "Grazie al ciel" [Piramo], C major/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 fl, [bn], 2 vl, basso.
[354–64] "Così la tranquilla" [Piramo], B-flat major, ¢, through-composed aria, 2 fl, bn, 2 vl, basso.	32–22. "Così la tranquilla" [Piramo], B-flat major, ¢, through-composed aria, 2 fl, bn, 2 vl, basso.
[365–72] "Ma s'avanza la notte!" [Piramo], A minor/E major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 [vl] vla, basso.	3435. "Ma s'avanza la notte!" [Piramo], A minor/E major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative, 2 [vl], vla, basso.
[373–85] "Deh, non varcar" [Piramo], E major, $\frac{3}{4}$ through-composed aria, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	36–37. "Deh, non varcar" [Piramo], E major, $\frac{3}{4}$, through-composed aria, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
scene 4	
[386–99] "Misera, ove m'inoltro?" [Tisbe & Piramo], C minor/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, accompanied recitative.	[None of scene 4, including the finale, is found in the Bremner publication, although present in the London libretti]
Finale:	
[400–13] "Ah, che mirar" [Piramo & Tisbe], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, duet, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.	

Table 2.1.—*(concluded)*

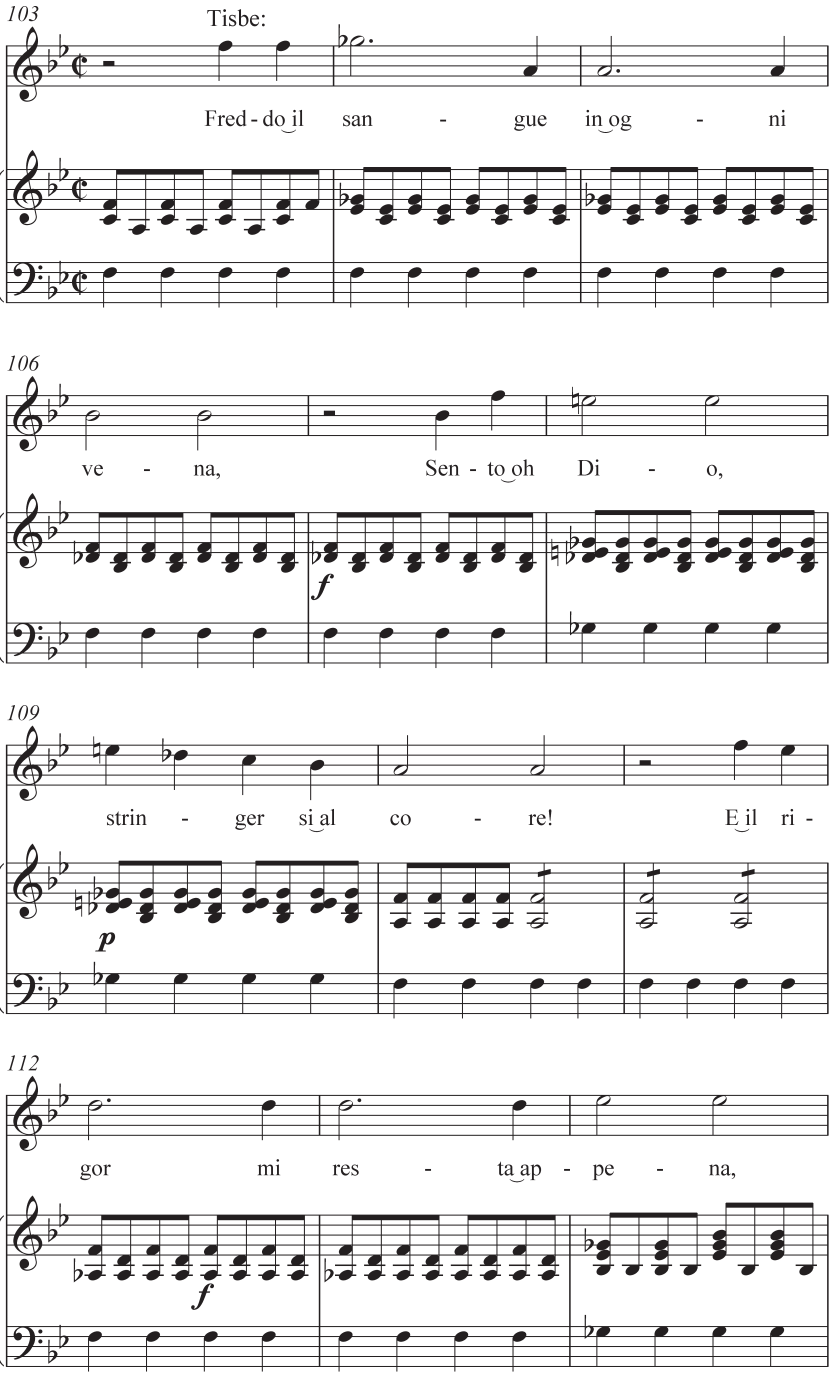
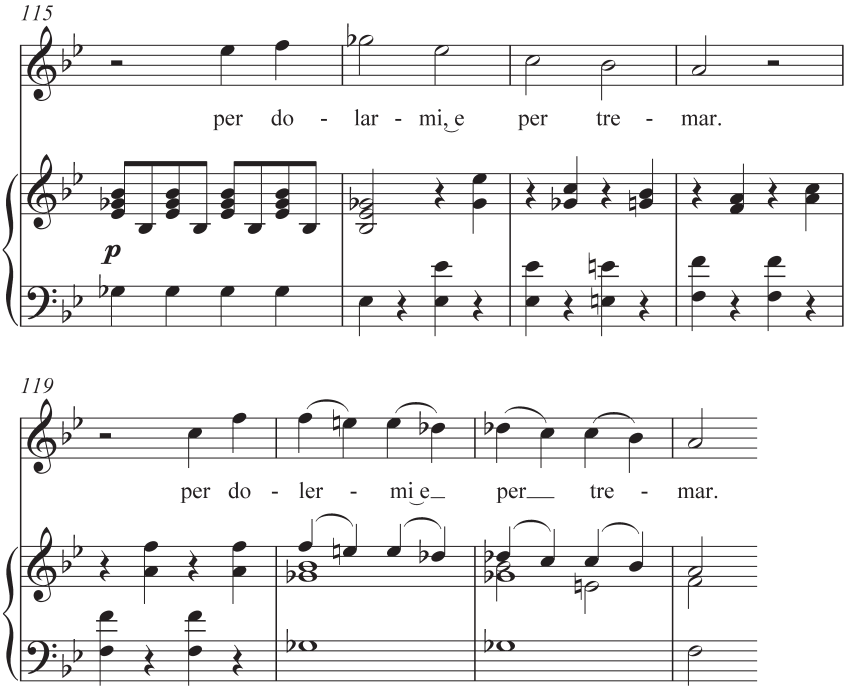
[413–17] "Eccogli! Ah, scellerati" [Corebo & Eupalte], F major, $\frac{4}{4}$, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[417–21] "Amato genitor!" [Tisbe & Piramo], G minor, $\frac{4}{4}$, 2 vl, basso.
[421-24] "Ah! Qual vicenda" [Eupalte & Corebo], fluctuating tonality, $\frac{4}{4}$, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[424–26] "Padre amato io moro" [Tisbe & Piramo], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[426–32] "Cari figli in questo seno" [Tisbe, Piramo, Eupalte & Corebo], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, 2 fl, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
[432–43] "Ah! Troncate i giorni/Ecco dove al fin" [Eupalte & Corebo], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.

Note: Page numbers are given on the left side of each column. Those in the Viennese score are shown in brackets as that source is unpaginated.

Example 2.2. Rauzzini, *Piramo e Tisbe*, Overture, Violin 1, mm 1–9.

Rauzzini did not capitalize upon his own abilities in the area of coloratura singing by creating the role of Piramo as a vocal showcase for himself. Indeed, there is little vocal display anywhere in the opera. This appears to indicate Rauzzini's convictions that music should express the drama convincingly without relying on vocal pyrotechnics. In place of *da capo* arias, Rauzzini composed ternary arias, most of which have truncated returns to their opening sections.

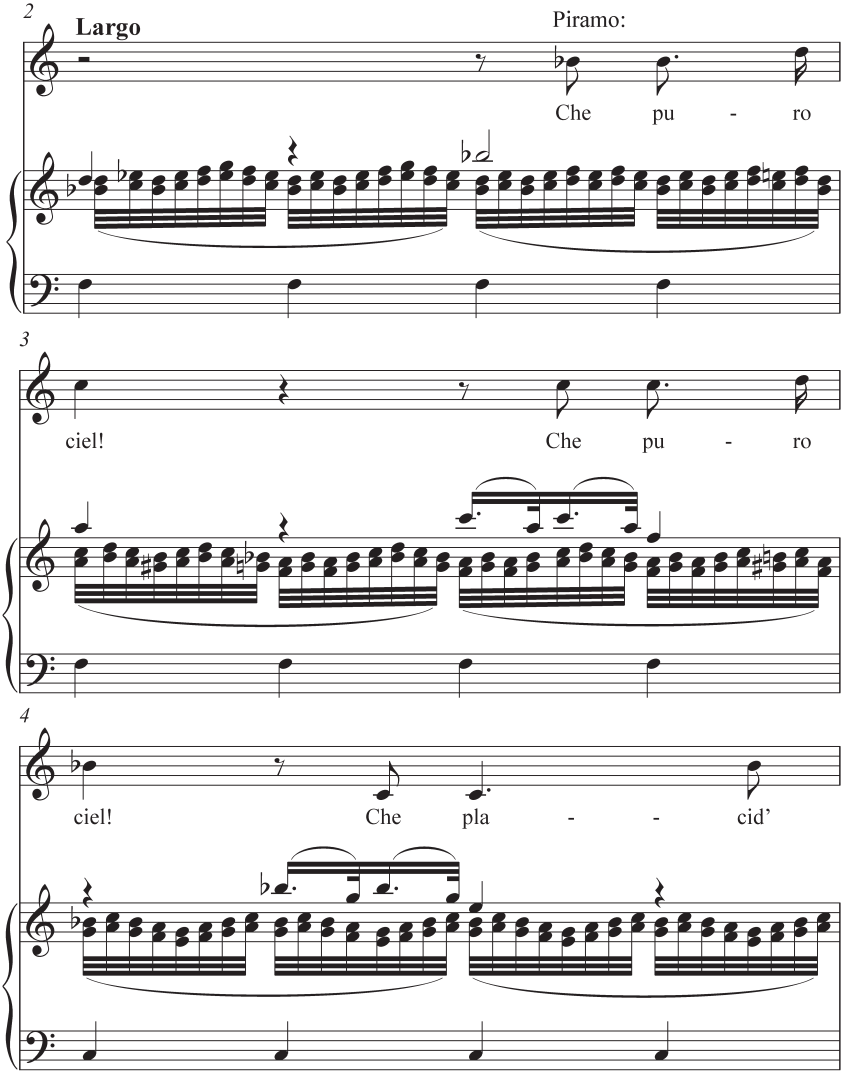
Example 2.3. Rauzzini, *Piramo e Tisbe*, "Invan ti struggi," mm. 1–23.

Example 2.3.—*(concluded)*

There are only two passages in which coloratura display is present: Tisbe's "Perderò l'amato bene" and Eupalte's "A' tuoi sospiri," both from act 1, scene 2. The text for Eupalte's aria may warrant the use of vocal display given its strong emotions: "But must a perfidious wretch triumph over me! Shall the throne command me to do it! That forgiveness would be mean, and compassion an error."[44]

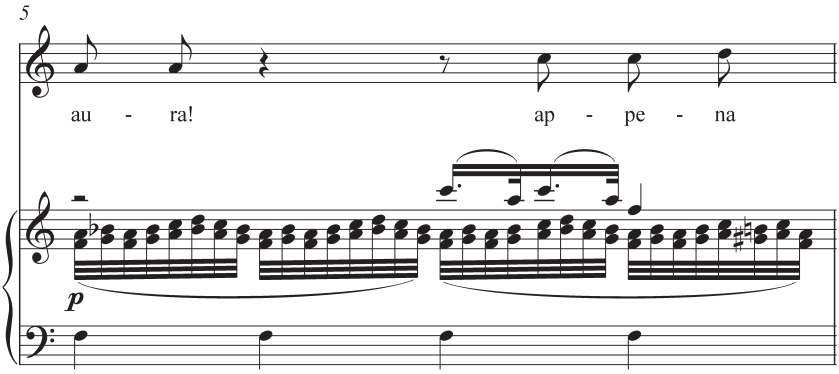
Rauzzini's rather declamatory vocal lines might appear plain, surprisingly so for a singer steeped in the tradition of Italian song. Rauzzini the composer, however, appears not to have thought of accompaniment as secondary in importance to melody. Rather, his music appears to have been conceived organically, with the vocal melodies subsumed within the larger orchestral fabric. Rauzzini was also very conscious of setting text so that it could be understood in the manner of speech. Given that his harmonic sense was well developed, the results are musically satisfying as well as dramatically apt. An example of Rauzzini's use of harmonic means to underscore the drama is to be found in the second part of Tisbe's aria, "Infelice! In tanto orrore," beginning with the text, "Freddo il sangue in ogni vena" [Ye Gods! My blood is chill'd in all my veins"]. The vocal line has a Gluckian simplicity, yet the drama is clearly conveyed through the shifting tonalities.

Example 2.4. Rauzzini, *Piramo e Tisbe*, "Infelice! In tanto orrore," mm. 103–22.

Example 2.4.—*(concluded)*

Other factors point to Rauzzini being a disciple of Gluck's reformed vision of opera and, in particular, *Orfeo ed Euridice*. The recitative text "Grazie al ciel" invites a descriptive setting and Rauzzini gave the violins a largely continuous thirty-second-note pattern played *piano*. The music ably depicts the beauty of the scene and the gentle breezes: "What serene sky! What gentle zephyrs! The soft murmur of the neighbouring fountain is scarce to be heard; and the winds hardly shake the verdant leaves. Me thinks, that amidst these silent horrors, everything conspires to render this abode the fittest for the enjoyment of our pure flames."[45] While the music does not quote "Che puro ciel" from *Orfeo ed Euridice* directly, those exact words are heard in the text, and the similarities are strong enough for contemporary audiences to have made the association between Orpheus in his quest for his beloved wife in the underworld with the journey of Pyramus to find Thisbe at the planned rendezvous.[46] This Classical allusion is not completely misplaced given the origins of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. The association with Orfeo, a demigod, would seem to cast Pyramus in a far more heroic light than in Ovid's tale, yet it serves to elevate the drama to greater heights.

Rauzzini's first year in London was personally successful, even if the fortunes of the King's Theatre were mixed. Ian Woodfield has demonstrated that the

season had not been profitable for the company, although sixty-three performances of eight operas had been performed as well as four oratorios and one concert.[47] Not only were box office receipts substantially down, but the costs of settling the legal dispute with Cecilia Davies had been crippling.[48] Rauzzini's suggestion of hiring Schindlerin as *prima donna* had not proved to be a complete success, but the managers must have felt that the choice of Rauzzini as *primo uomo* had turned out rather well. After a difficult start Rauzzini had gained

Example 2.5. Rauzzini, *Piramo e Tisbe*, "Che puro ciel," mm. 2–10.

Example 2.5.—*(concluded)*



critical support and emerged as a popular figure on and off the stage. The public's acceptance of him had been somewhat slow to develop, as recorded by Burney in his *General History*: "It was some time before his abilities were felt by the public here, to the favor of which nothing can so speedily convey the merits of a singer as a *great* and powerful voice: however, his taste, fancy, and delicacy, together with his beautiful person and spirited and intelligent manner of acting, before the season was over, gained him general approbation."[49]

It certainly had done Rauzzini no harm that he fitted in easily with London high society. He spoke excellent French, was a good conversationalist, and had polished manners. The singer became well acquainted with the Burney family and, following the premiere of *Montezuma*, Frances Burney met him at the home of Mrs. Brooke. Burney writes that she was "much pleased with his vivacity and drollery."[50] It is clearly evident that Frances Burney became quite smitten with the singer. In late 1775, she writes that "nothing can be more beautiful than this youth: he has the Complection of our Dick,—the very finest White & Red I ever saw: his Eyes are the sweetest in the World, at once soft & spirited: All his Features are animated & charming. . . . M^{r} Burney & Hetty are grown, of late, quite enraptured with him."[51] On one occasion, Frances writes of longing "irresistibly to speak with Rauzzini" and, in a letter to her sister, Susan, she observes that "I can easily believe Rauzzini has behaved in the same way he looks, ie like an Angel."[52] Such comments caused Samuel Crisp, a family friend, to write a strongly worded rebuke to Frances that her reputation was in danger of being tarnished.[53] Undoubtedly, Rauzzini's physical attractiveness contributed to his popularity. Although he appears not to have encouraged the amorous attentions of women, he was likely aware that his physical attractiveness contributed to his successful stage appearances. By the end of the decade, Frances Burney's enthusiasm for Rauzzini waned, especially after the much-publicized quarrel with Sacchini when her sympathies appear to have been for the latter. At the end of his first season, however, Rauzzini was at the height of his popularity as a singer and a composer.

Chapter Three

Two Further Seasons at the King's Theatre

1775–77

Season Two

Charles Burney recorded that Rauzzini attempted to secure a second season for Caterina Schindlerin, but to no avail:[1] Schindlerin appeared but twice on the stage at the King's Theatre during Rauzzini's own second season. In spite of this defeat, Rauzzini accepted the management's offer of a contract for a second season as *primo uomo*. His new partner was to be a rather more significant singer than Schindlerin: Caterina Gabrielli. The engagement of Gabrielli was a coup for the theater. Although her "star" temperament was to cause no end of upsets and her conduct on stage was often unpardonable, she was deemed a significant rival to Lucrezia Aguiari's concerts at the Pantheon.[2] Gabrielli possessed a beautiful voice and a brilliant technique, although it soon became evident that her voice was not as large as that of Aguiari. This was a blessing on some levels, since she was vocally a good match for Rauzzini. That she was given highly deferential treatment by the managers must have irked Rauzzini, however. The London newspapers reported her salary at £1,500; in addition, she received a house in London and carriage. This base salary is confirmed by Ian Woodfield, who notes the spring and summer payments made to the singer of £500 each.[3] It has not been recorded that Rauzzini received an equal salary or accommodation and a carriage. Given that Gabrielli's antics on stage did not make her the best colleague, it is not hard to imagine that Rauzzini anticipated the season with some trepidation, if not some actual resentment. Rauzzini felt the need to keep up a similar standard of living to that of Gabrielli: Frances Burney records that Gabrielli was living "*en princesse*" and that Rauzzini "will keep her in Countenance by living *en prince*. He has had his Drawing room painted after the manner of the Card Rooms at the Pantheon, with Pink &

Green, finely ornamented," perhaps as a reminder to Gabrielli that she had a potent rival in Aguiari at the Pantheon.[4]

The cast assembled by the theater for the season (as published in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1775) was: (Serious Opera): First Man, Signor Rauzzini; First Woman, Signora Gabrielli; Tenor, Signor Onofrio; Second Man, Signor Manzoletto; Second Woman, Signora Francesca Gabrielli; Last Man, Signor Vincenzio Sestini. (Comic Opera): First Buffo, Signor Trebbi; First Buffa, Signora Sestini; Serious Man, Signor Manzoletto; Serious Woman, Signora Francesca Gabrielli; Second Buffo, Signor Fochetti; Second Buffa, Signora Cardarelli; Third Buffo, Signor Vincenzio Sestini. The list is not complete, however, for the company also made occasional use of the services of Caterina Schindlerin and Signor Savoi. Caterina Gabrielli always made it a condition of her contracts that her sister, Francesca, be hired as second woman. Vocal talent does not always have genetic links: sadly, the sister was not a good singer, and audiences soon came to resent having such an inferior performer inflicted upon them.[5] Although Frances Burney was pleased that Caterina Galli had not been given a contract as the second man, the singer eventually appeared during the winter of 1776 in the role of Pinaria Maxima in Vento's *La vestale*. Galli appears to have made her last appearance at the King's Theatre on April 30, 1776. The advertisement also lists six dancers under the direction of the ballet master, M. Bouqueton. A similar formula for the cast hiring appears to have been copied from the previous year. Ten singers were once again given fulltime contracts, with three of these appearing in both comic and serious operas.

Rauzzini's roles were varied in the season, including Vento's *La vestale*, Piccinni's *Caio Mario*, the *pasticcio* operas *Antigono* and *Didone abbandonata*, and two operas of his own composition. Once again, Rauzzini's singing and acting were highly praised; the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* recorded on February 7, 1776, that Rauzzini "did great justice to his part, both as singer and actor" in Vento's *La vestale*. A happy occasion for the singer was the premiere of his *Le ali d'Amore* on February 29, 1776. The opportunity to present another opera was recognition of his growing success in London, both as a singer and a composer. This was followed by the revival of his *Piramo e Tisbe* (May 14 and 16), the only times when Caterina Schindlerin performed at the King's Theatre that season and seemingly her final appearances in London.[6] Rauzzini received top billing in the newspaper advertisements in *Caio Mario* as well as in his own compositions. The prominence he was accorded, as both singer and composer, may have been a significant inducement in his decision to remain in London. He composed his own arias for the *pasticcio* operas *Antigono* and *Didone abbandonata*, with the latter opera scheduled to open the season.

Didone abbandonata was an *opera seria* with a libretto by Metastasio. A setting of the libretto by Giuseppe Colla had received its premiere in Turin in 1773, and the King's Theatre decided to transform Colla's setting into a *pasticcio* with

additional music by Sacchini, Mortellari, Savoy, Rauzzini, and Giardini. Frances Burney records that the opera was "to be *half* pasticcio, but all the recitatives by Sacchini, as well as a cantabile for Rauzzini, and *all the part* of la Gabrielli."[7] Sacchini was in charge of the production. As in the previous season, Rauzzini was given the chance to compose his arias, thus invoking critical interest. A letter sent to *St. James's Chronicle* (January 11) by a "Wanderer" noted that "there is one very remarkable Peculiarity in this Opera: that Signore Rauzzini should be permitted to foist his own Musick into the Composition. His Songs however are admirable; and executed with a Taste and Expression which we have hardly seen exceeded." Later in the season Rauzzini was again given the opportunity to compose his arias for the *pasticcio* opera *Antigono*. As a result, he could ensure that the music was tailor-made to his voice, while keeping his name as a composer before the London audiences.

In contrast to the unsuccessful *pasticcio* which had opened the previous season at the King's Theatre, *Didone abbandonata* proved to be a hit with audiences, receiving ten performances. This success came late as the opening night was several times postponed because of illness, this time Gabrielli being the principal cause. This was the third year in a row that the opening of the season was delayed in this manner, and London audiences were becoming disgruntled at the seeming vagaries of the highly paid singers.[8] Finally, on November 11, 1775, Gabrielli consented to sing. Public reaction to her performance was mixed. Even granting that she was recovering from an indisposition, those who had hoped for a large-voiced singer similar to Lucrezia Aguiari left the theater disappointed. She may have been a greater artist than the previous season's Caterina Schindlerin but her voice was not much larger.

Given that the *pasticcio* opera that had opened the previous season had been a singular disappointment, it may seem strange that the management of the King's Theatre had decided to begin the 1775–76 season with an opera of the same type. The choice of *Didone*, however, may have been made for political reasons. Both the choice of the opera and the decision to jettison much of Colla's music would have undercut the success of Lucrezia Aguiari's concerts at the Pantheon. Colla was intimately connected to Aguiari and she had sung his arias from this very opera at the Pantheon throughout the previous season. Now the opera was to be staged as the debut vehicle for Gabrielli, Aguiari's rival as a singer, but without Colla's arias. This was a considerable insult for both Aguiari and the Pantheon, while at the same time preventing comparisons of Gabrielli and Aguiari in the same music.[9]

Rauzzini's name was given pride of place in the newspaper advertisements for the opening of *Didone*, with larger type than was used for any of the other singers. This may be an indication that the management fully realized just how audiences were coming to prize his artistic performances. His acting abilities appear to have been the equal of his singing—a rare occurrence with opera singers in any period. A letter by Edward Pigott records his visit to the theater

for a performance of *Didone*: "Rauzzini acted the part of Eneas, he is young, has an exceeding handsome face, he acts better than has yet been seen, Garrick says he never saw better, his Voice answers his figure and talents, being very strong, soft, and sonorous, and he sings with surprising taste."[10] While Rauzzini's striking looks and youthful figure likely helped inform opinions about his acting, there can be little doubt that he actually set out to act when he sang in opera. Rauzzini must also have exerted himself more this season for Pigott to have stated that his voice was strong. Given that his *prima donna* was now a singer who would not hold back in her performance to please him, Rauzzini had to give his all at each performance. It is likely a good thing that Aguiari had not been engaged as the *prima donna* at the King's Theatre: Frances Burney relates Lady Edgcumbe's revealing comment, "By *Gabrielli*, Rauzzini seemed to have a great Voice; by *Aguiari* he appeared a Child."[11]

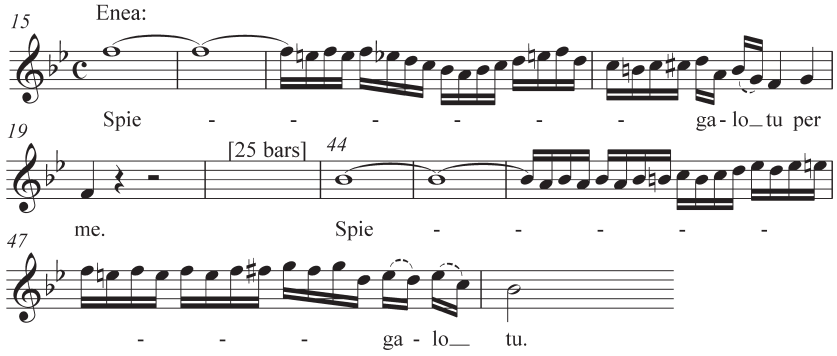
Didone abbandonata (*Opera Seria* in Three Acts)

Metastasio's libretto for *Didone abbandonata* was written in 1724, and was his first completely original libretto. As it was often set to music, the story of Queen Dido, who committed suicide when abandoned by the Trojan warrior, Aeneas, was likely well known to audiences. A score of the principal arias from the London *pasticcio* was published by Bremner. It contained the arias composed by Rauzzini: "Dovre—ma non—L'amore," "Se mai vedi il mio tesore," "Quando saprai chi sonno," and "Sentir si dire dal caro bene."[12] Rauzzini's arias were no less important than those by Sacchini and the other composers represented in the opera. Rauzzini's skill with creating effective orchestrations is revealed in his contributions to the score. The arias also tell us much about his voice and his musical tastes. All of the arias are of considerable proportions, yet there is little passagework. Their tessitura tends to be low; none reach higher than a″. Indeed, even that note appears to have been approached infrequently, and with some caution. While he still provided himself with opportunities to display his *messa di voce*, there appear fewer places for extemporized fioratura than might have been expected. There are no *da capo* structures and the often syllabic text settings would not seem to invite extravagant ornamentation.

As with *Piramo e Tisbe*, Rauzzini's music is text-driven and often syllabic. On their own, the melodies lack a strong profile, especially when compared to composers whose music is conceived in longer phrase units, or with melodic extensions for purely musical reasons. Rauzzini appears to have approached vocal composition from a different perspective, one where the melodies are organically conceived within their musical surroundings. Several of the arias have extended introductions that do much to establish their mood. Rauzzini's treatment of the orchestra is idiomatic and effective, and there is considerable attention paid to dynamic contrasts. Comparison of Rauzzini's music with that

of the other composers in the score is also revealing. Sacchini's duet ("Parto è ver") provides the expected passagework and vocal acrobatics, yet the part sung by Rauzzini was composed in a much lower tessitura than that for the soprano, whose part ascends to c‴. By comparison, Rauzzini's arias are similar in style those of Giardini. Giardini often writes in a syllabic fashion, but even he indulges in word extensions to provide extended passagework, a technique that Rauzzini largely avoids. Rauzzini more often provides brief moments to display a particular strength in his singing. In "Dovrei–ma non–L'amore," Rauzzini gave himself three opportunities to display his *messa di voce* as well as chromatic notes in alternating note passages; example 3.1 illustrates two examples of this approach. The aria also includes a part for bassoon that explores the high range of the instrument for coloristic effects.

By contrast, "Mi costringea lasciar la" is set for strings and figured bass only. The range of the aria is quite narrow (d′–g″), and much of the text is set quite simply. The music has an attractive folk-like quality, while the use of dotted rhythms and frequent dynamic contrasts provide both forward motion and musical interest. The aria is listed as a rondo, but the third statement of the rondo tune is much altered and truncated into an extended cadential formula. "Quando sa prai chi sono" similarly contains no coloratura passages, but it is less introspective in tone. The melody contains melodic leaps of a thirteenth which, combined with a strong opening motif and much rhythmic activity in the accompaniment, result in a vigorous and assertive character. "Sentir si dire dal caro bene" is a large-scale ternary aria of 133 measures, which was likely meant to be the singer's most virtuosic moment in the opera. There is more passagework in this aria than in the others, and these contain scale passages that ascend to g″ and a″. Nevertheless, it is the use of syncopation and arresting rhythmic figures that give this music its appeal.

Example 3.1. Rauzzini, "Dovrei–ma non," *Didone abbandonata*, mm. 15–19, and mm. 44–48.

It is evident that Rauzzini wanted to establish himself as a composer while in London. He also agreed to compose arias for the *pasticcio* opera *La sposa fedele*, even though he did not sing in the work. One of his contributions to the score was "Che fa it mio bene," an aria for the rather untalented Francesca Gabrielli.[13] Rauzzini composed a brief but attractive *da capo* aria that posed few vocal challenges for a singer of limited vocal ability. It has a range of only one octave and requires no coloratura. The vocal melody may be very simple, but it is supported by a cushion of gently undulating strings and interjections from the flutes that provide more musical interest than is generated by the vocal part. Rauzzini's willingness to compose music that would allow even an inferior singer to be shown in the best light reveals his eagerness to be seen as a team player by the administration of the theater. While the simplicity of the melody may have made it accessible for amateurs, one wonders why it was then published in full score by Bremner:[14] a keyboard reduction would have been more beneficial for home use. The publication did, however, serve to keep his name before the public as a composer at a time when his new opera, *Le ali d'Amore*, was due to be given its premiere on February 29, 1776.

Le ali d'Amore (*Opera Comica* in Three Acts)

Le ali d'Amore was composed to a new libretto by Carlo Francesco Badini, a poet then attached to the King's Theatre. Two performances followed after the premiere of the opera on February 29, 1776, and a further three performances were given in the next season. The last of the 1777 performances fell on July 5. This was Rauzzini's benefit evening and his last appearance as the *primo uomo* of the theater. For the 1777 performances, Rauzzini and Badini undertook to revise the opera, likely in an attempt to address some criticisms concerning the lack of incident in the original libretto. Both the original and the revised version of the libretto were published by T. Cadell, in 1776 and 1777 respectively.[15] The 1776 cast included Giuseppe Trebbi (Damon, father of Amarillis), Caterina Gabrielli (Amarillis, in love with Filenus), Venanzio Rauzzini (Filenus, son of Silvanus and in love with Amarillis), Francesca Gabrielli (Cloris, sister of Filenus), Gaspare Savoi (Erastus, beloved of Cloris, secret Rival of Filenus), Signor Peretti (Silvanus, father of Filenus and Cloris), Vincenzo Sestini (Lucidas, a Shepherd), and Nancy Storace (Cupid). Storace (b. October 27, 1765) was then still very young. Many of the same cast members appeared in the revival, with the principal changes being the substitution of Cecilia Davies and Marianne Farnese in the roles that had been previously sung by the Gabrielli sisters. The following synopsis is based on the 1777 version of the text:

> (Act 1): Filenus saves Erastus from a lion while out hunting. When the two young men tell the story to Filenus's father, Silvanus, the latter advises them to spend more time with their fiancées. Damon, the father of Amarillis

(betrothed to Filenus), decides that Filenus is unworthy of her and demands that she marry Erastus. Although Erastus is betrothed to Cloris, he admits that his affections have turned to Amarillis. This causes Filenus and Erastus to fall out. Silvanus attempts, in vain, to dissuade Erastus in his pursuit of Amarillis. Filenus and Amarillis pledge their undying love to one another. (Act 2): The four lovers express their general unhappiness and, when Amarillis refuses her father's command to marry Erastus, she is placed in a dungeon. Filenus tries to save her, but is caught in the attempt. (Act 3): After escaping from the dungeon, Amarillis runs off with Filenus, to the disgust of Damon who promises vengeance on his daughter. Cloris entreats Erastus to return to her affection, and he agrees. At the foot of Mount Etna, Filenus and Amarillis are separated, but Cupid unites them at the Forge of Vulcan. Damon and the others enter, but Cupid convinces Damon that true love should prevail. A general celebration ensues.

The story has certain similarities to that of *Piramo e Tisbe*, but with a happy ending. The success of that opera in the previous season had set a standard of expectation and audiences were not disappointed. *Le ali d'Amore* was much admired, even though the pastoral plot was somewhat lacking in incident. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on March 1, 1776, provided an extended review of the new opera:

> A New pastoral entertainment called Le Ali d'Amore, or the *Wings of Love*, written by Mr. Badini, and set to music by Signor Rauzzini was performed yesterday evening . . . A pastoral not admitting of a great variety of incidents, the subject of this piece is of course simple, but wonderfully interesting. The Poet has drawn the nicest refinements of love in the liveliest colours, and has interspersed his drama with the most beautiful roses of Parnassus. *Pastor fido* was always considered among the Italians as the standard of pastoral elegance, but we do not scruple to give the preference to *Le Ali d'Amore*, this poem being more natural, and divested of those false glittering thoughts which the Italians call *concerti*. . . .
>
> With regard to the music, if we can judge of its excellence by the thundering applause gained, we may boldly pronounce that it will remain the standard of the most enchanting musical sweetness. The choruses are incomparably delightful, the duet amazingly fine, and the particular the songs of Signora Gabrielli and of Signor Rauzzini are charming to the highest degree; Signor Rauzzini has composed it for his own benefit. We are informed that he has been at the expence [*sic*] of three hundred pounds in getting up this Opera.

If the other London newspapers were largely silent on the new opera, there appears to have been no opposition to it, and the audience approval made it a candidate for revival the next year. If Rauzzini had indeed financed the production himself, he must have been greatly relieved by its positive reception.

The London publisher Welcker released selections from the opera in full score, and manuscript excerpts can be found in various libraries.[16] Welcker's

publication of excerpts presents several mysteries. The British Library dating of 1776 for this score would appear to be mistaken as the source mentions the singer Marianna Farnese in the role of Chloris, a part sung by Francesca Gabrielli in 1776, and by Farnese in 1777. Furthermore, several pieces of music (the arias "Un di quel ciglio amabile" and "La calma serena," as well as the closing chorus) are found only in the 1777 printing of the libretto, while the act 1 duet between Eratus and Filenus is that found in the 1776 libretto. At the same time, the music for the character Amarillis is referenced with the name of Caterina Gabrielli, who sang only in the 1776 performances. Further muddying the waters is the fact that the first mention of the Welcker publication in the London newspapers is in 1778, long after the final performances of the opera. It is possible that the score represents a conflation of both versions of the opera and that the references to Caterina Gabrielli were an attempt to capitalize on her fame.

The pastoral nature of the plot played well to Rauzzini's strengths as a composer. He responded equally well to the scenes of love and pastoral delights as he did to those requiring pathos. The result was an opera that was entertaining and moving in equal parts. Prior to the revival of 1777, Rauzzini undertook a thorough revision of the opera. This resulted in two versions, of which only the latter (1777) can be documented to any great degree. The decision to rewrite so much of the opera is somewhat surprising, given its general success in the previous season; however, it demonstrates Rauzzini's desire to refine his art. The presence of the librettist Badini in London permitted such a large-scale rewriting of the libretto that resulted in both a tightened dramatic structure and the introduction of new incidents in the plot.

While there are no full scores for the two versions of the opera, the published libretti reveal the scope of the revisions. For the 1777 revival the first four scenes of act 1 remained unchanged, but the last thirteen lines of text were cut in scene 5. In scene 6, the aria, "Sventurate alme indedeli," replaced the duet "Sol di perferti." The original scene 7 was dropped, and a new aria ("Senza speme di conforto") was inserted for the character of Licida in scene 9. The end of act 1 was truncated: the quintet "Con un cenno puoi" disappeared and the act ended with a duet, "Con le note su canore." The first two scenes of act 2 were transposed in the revision, and the aria "Dalle faville" was replaced by "Per aver l'amato oggetto." The chorus "Sei condotta" disappeared in act 2, scene 5, and scene 7 was much rewritten. The aria "Ah! se perdo il caro bene" was replaced with "Chi può dir." The end of act 2 is much rewritten and the final chorus, "Rotte l'aspre sue catene," was dropped. Much of act 3 was new. Parts of scene 1 were retained, but even here the dialogue was rewritten and the new aria, "I tuoi pensier," added. Thereafter, scenes 2–5 appear to have been newly composed, as does much of the finale. The result was a very different work in dramatic terms. Unless manuscript full scores for the two versions of the opera can be found, it is not possible to predict how much new

music Rauzzini may have composed for the revision, but given the amount of new text that was introduced, it would seem likely that much of the music, of necessity, was new.

The Welcker score of excerpts provides the best sense of the opera. It is presented in full score with minimal compression of the parts. The selection of music for publication is perhaps less judicious here than it was in Bremner's selection from *Piramo e Tisbe*. In part, this was the result of *Le ali d'Amore* being a longer work, but the non-sequential presentation of the music, the absence of connecting recitatives and the long stretches of text not represented in the publication provide little sense of the drama as it unfolded through music. The following is a list of the contents of the score as published by Welcker (page numbers are indicated in parentheses):

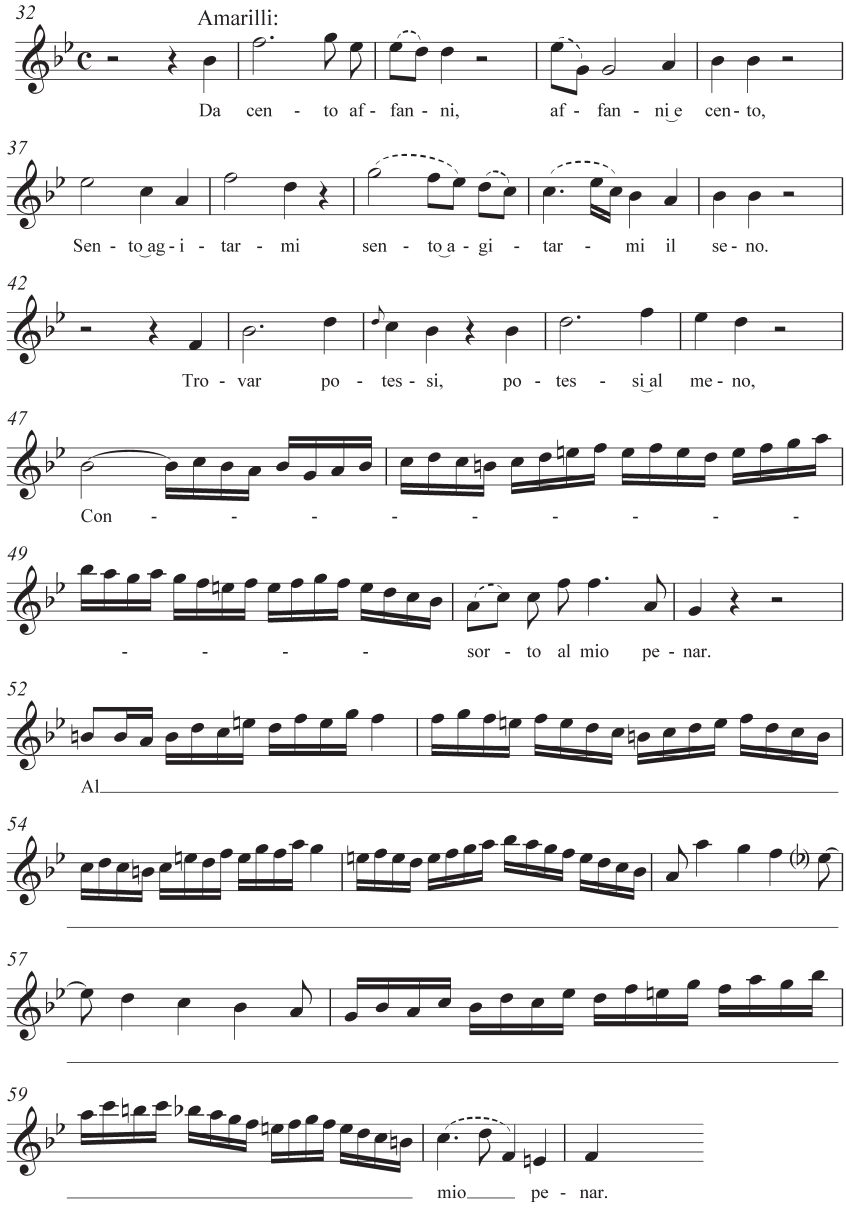
(1–5) "Gli assanni del Cor mio" [Amarillis], A major, $\frac{3}{4}$, ternary aria: 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(6–12) "In godeva giorni in pace" [Filenus], G major, $\frac{2}{4}$, through-composed aria: 2 fl, 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(13–17) "Mille affetti un di folea" [Erasto], F major, $\frac{3}{4}$, *da capo* aria: 2 fl, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(18–24) "La cerva piagata" [Filenus and Erasto], D major, $\frac{2}{4}$, 2-verse duet with concluding chorus: 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(25–27) "Un di quel ciglio amabile" [Erasto], E major, $\frac{2}{4}$, ternary aria: 2 vl, vla, basso.
(28–32) "Del mio core I dolci affetti" [Chloris], F major, $\frac{2}{4}$, though-composed aria: 2 vl, vla, basso.
(33–42) "Da cento affanni" [Amarillis], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, ternary aria: 2 ob, 2 bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(43–48) "Chi può dire" [Fileno], F major, $\frac{6}{8}$, rondo aria: 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, violono, basso.
(49–53) "Ah se perdo il caro bene" [Amarillis], B-flat major, ¢, rondo aria: 2 ob, bn, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(54–58) "La calma serena" [Filenus], B-flat major, $\frac{2}{4}$, through-composed aria: 2 ob, 2 vl, vla, basso.
(59–64) "Godiam del dio d'amor" [Chorus], D major, $\frac{6}{8}$, rondo: 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, basso.

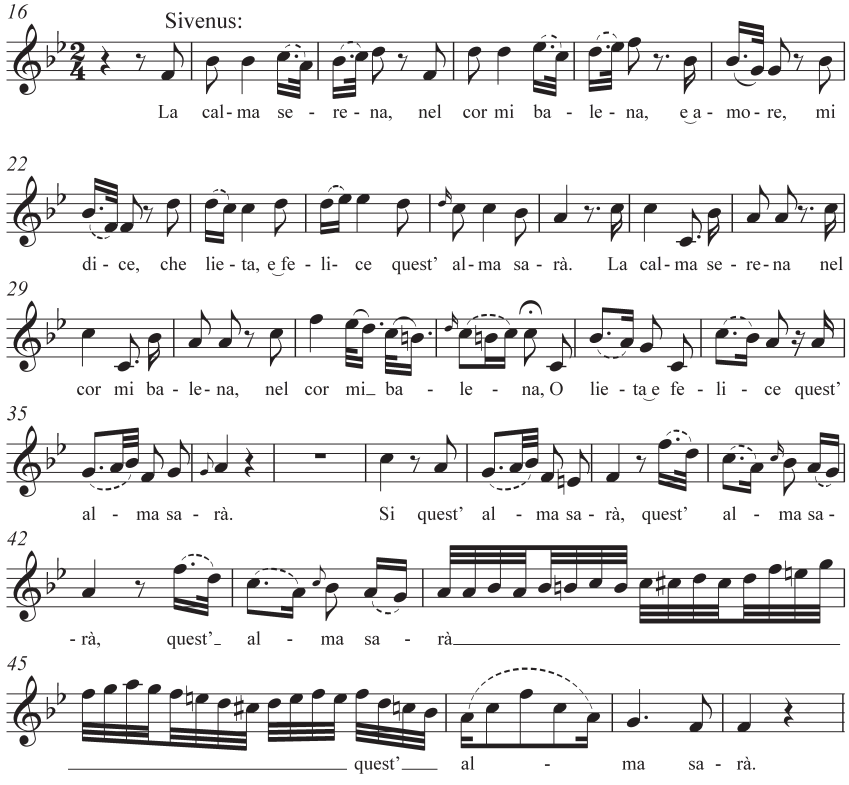
The surviving music suggests that Rauzzini's compositional skills had continued to develop from the time of his *Piramo e Tisbe*. The arias have a stronger melodic profile, and the harmonies are more adventurous. While Rauzzini's greatest strengths may have been in composing pastoral music, the bravura music for the characters of Amarillis and Erastus is effective and demonstrates Rauzzini's ability to bridge styles. The principal characters are differentiated from the secondary characters musically: the music composed for Gaspero

Savoi (fl. 1758–93) as Erastus is markedly different from that which Rauzzini composed for himself, even though both men were soprano castrati. Savoi sang the lower part of the duet "La cerva piagata" with Rauzzini, and his part never rises above f♯″. It would appear that either Savoi did not have much vocal flexibility or that Rauzzini did not want it compared to his own. The duet does not have any passagework, and it requires little rhythmic dexterity beyond the handling of sixteenth notes. Savoi's aria, "Mille affetti un di folea," is rhythmically foursquare; with different words, it could almost pass as an Anglican hymn. The music is attractive, but with no coloratura passages and a range that goes no higher than a″, there was no chance of Savoi showing up Rauzzini in this opera. Similarly, the aria composed for Marianne Farnese as Chloris, "Del mio core I dolci affetti," posed far fewer vocal demands than does the music for the character of Amarillis. While Farnese's aria is more rhythmically difficult than the music composed for Savoi and does contain a coloratura passage of two measures, it pales in comparison to the demands that Rauzzini set for Gabrielli and subsequently Cecilia Davies. Indeed, the music composed for the secondary characters displays few of the traditional elements associated with Italian *opera seria* and may demonstrate some possible influence from the world of English opera.

By contrast, the music for Filenus and Amarillis is in the style of *opera seria*. Given Gabrielli's reputation in coloratura singing, it is not surprising to find passagework of up to seven measures for her. She would have demanded music that displayed her virtuosity; disaster might well have happened had Rauzzini refused the request. In particular, the aria "Da cento affani" is a vocal showpiece that would test the mettle of any soprano. Within its range of two octaves, the soprano must have ease and flexibility up to c‴, be able to negotiate wide leaps, and convey the pathos of the situation. Given that Badini's text for this aria is only one sentence ("For the sake of my love I shall cheerfully suffer all the agonizing tortures thy heart of flint can invent"), Rauzzzi is successful in creating a contrasted, large-scale aria that covers ten pages of the published score. This success was dependent to a large degree on his rich harmonic palette to give the music interest and variety beyond the ear-tickling coloratura passages. These passages must nevertheless have given considerable pleasure in their own right, as example 3.2 demonstrates.

Rauzzini also composed highly contrasted music for his own use. Not to be outshone by the soprano, he set himself some significant vocal challenges. Not only is the tessitura generally higher than the music he composed for himself in *Piramo e Tisbe*, the note b″ figures in the aria "In godeva giorni in pace," where it is given twice, both times approached by an octave and a half scale passage. Here, the setting is almost martial in quality. Rauzzini may have been trying to make a point with the London audiences that he was capable of dramatic singing, since the text here deals with "transcendent passion" and a hero who "cannot endure the agonies of [his] soul." Rauzzini did not compose

Example 3.2. Rauzzini, *Le ali d'Amore,* "Da cento affani," vocal line, mm. 32–61.

32
Amarilli:
Da cen - to af - fan - ni, af - fan - ni e cen - to,
37
Sen - to ag - i - tar - mi sen - to a - gi - tar - mi il se - no.
42
Tro - var po - tes - si, po - tes - si al me - no,
47
Con - - - - - - - - -
49
- - - - sor - to al mio pe - nar.
52
Al
54
57
59
mio pe - nar.

Example 3.3. Rauzzini, *Le ali d'Amore,* "La calma serena," mm. 16–48.

16
Sivenus:
La cal-ma se - re - na, nel cor mi ba - le - na, e a - mo - re, mi
22
di - ce, che lie - ta, e fe - li- ce quest' al-ma sa - rà. La cal-ma se - re-na nel
29
cor mi ba - le-na, nel cor mi_ ba - le - na, O lie - ta e fe - li - ce quest'
35
al - ma sa - rà. Si quest' al - ma sa - rà, quest' al - ma sa -
42
- rà, quest'_ al - ma sa - rà
45
quest'_ al - ma sa - rà.

extended coloratura passagework for himself, which is somewhat surprising given the complexity of some of the music for Gabrielli. Instead, he charmed the audiences with music that played to his strengths. Typical of this approach is one of the most popular arias in the opera, "La calma serena." This was music whose invitation to *cantabile* singing would appear to be more naturally suited to Rauzzini's style.

Unfortunately, the premiere did not go off without the proverbial hitch. An event took place that must have been unnerving for Rauzzini, both as performer and composer: a man in the gallery repeatedly called out "Bravo, Sacchini!" during the performance. As Sacchini was in the audience, the incident invited the interpretation that Sacchini had instigated the situation. On March 1, 1776, the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* offered an explanation, noting that "a person in the gallery, [took] *Le Ali d'Amore,* for *L'Isola d'Amore, . . .* not knowing the piece to which he was attending was the composition of Signor Rauzzini." Both works were in the theater's repertory that season, and a

mistake of this nature was thus plausible. Sacchini, however, feared a backlash that might affect the reception of his own music and published a statement in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on March 5, 1776, which denied any attempt on his part to attempt to defraud Rauzzini of his authorship. Sacchini describes the man in the gallery as being of "very shabby appearance" and as having "a malicious intention." Sacchini goes on to state that "were I the author of the music of *Le Ali d'Amore*, I should be extremely proud of making it public; since I really found in it such brilliant fanciful novelty, such exquisite taste and true harmony, as would reflect a never-failing lustre on the most eminent composer."[17] Rauzzini's graciously worded notice of gratitude for the public's warm response to his music is found immediately above Sacchini's letter in the newspaper. Unfortunately, the seemingly warm relationship then evident between the two composers did not survive the decade of the 1780s.

The season that had opened in controversy had ultimately proved to be a triumph for the management. Seventy performances of twelve operas had been presented, a significant increase over the nine works of the previous season.[18] For Rauzzini, the season had provided him the opportunity to consolidate his reputation. While he had won over most of the London audience, there was still a lingering doubt over whether or not his voice was really big enough for the theater. Rauzzini compensated for this deficiency with his taste, musicianship and vivid acting, retaining the approbation of Charles Burney, for whom such qualities were likely of greater interest than a large voice or dazzling technical displays. In a letter to Lord Mornington of late May 1776, Burney writes:

> I have given my opinion of Rauzzini in my German tour, article Munich, to wh^{ch} I shall only add, as I have nothing to take away, that he is so good a musician, & is possessed of so modern & exquisite a Taste, that whatever state his voice may be in, he never offends, & almost always gives very great pleasure, in everything except his *shake*, wh^{ch} I doubted of before, but am now convinced is too close, & properly speaking, rather a flutter than a true shake. Yet his Execution of rapid passages is wonderful & only inferior to that of Gabrielli, wh^{ch} is more articulate. Rauzzini has more Merit as a Composer than any *professed* Singer I have ever known.[19]

Rauzzini's compositions not only had merit, they also proved to be a drawing card for the theater. Other singers were attracted to his music, likely because he understood the human voice well. Both Gabrielli and Trebbi asked for *Le ali d'Amore* for their benefit evenings, a considerable accolade from one singer to another. Rauzzini had also attracted the attention and protection of several people of considerable importance and influence, most especially David Garrick and Charles Burney. His attractive countenance and polished manner had also made him highly successful in society. These qualities, however, were not without their liabilities, and his third season at the King's Theatre began with old fears about the castrato voice reemerging.

Season Three

This season got off to an unfortunate start, with a notice in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on August 19, 1776, that attributed Rauzzini's engagement to the blackmailing tactics of aristocratic women:

> Signor Rauzzini we are assured, owes his continuance in this kingdom to the interposition of several *married* ladies of the first rank, who made it a point with the managers of the opera-house, that he *should positively* be engaged, or they would withdraw their subscriptions: It seems many of these illustrious females are enamoured with this *semblance* of manhood, and to such a pitch of phrenzy [*sic*], that they cannot exist without him! but what is still more surprising, some of these *love sick* ladies have men for their husbands, who as *men*, do honour to their species.

Not only did this notice continue earlier tropes about the negative influence of the castrato voice, it denigrates Rauzzini personally as being a mere "semblance" of a man, while suggesting that his engagement for a third year had nothing to do with his musical abilities. That Rauzzini could portray great heroes on the stage convincingly and still project the aura of youthfulness and vigor that caused women to swoon made him something to be feared, not admired. Rauzzini would eventually age visibly, but this seems not to have entered into the equation—it was his voice that would remain youthful and a threat to conventional masculinity.

In September 1776, the theater released the following cast list for the season: (Serious Opera): First Man, Signor Rauzzini; First Woman, Signora Pozzi; Tenor, Signor Trebbi; Second Man, Signor Savoi; Second Woman, Signora Farnese; Last Man, Signor Micheli. (Comic Opera): First Buffo, Signor Trebbi; First Buffa, Signora Sestini; Second Buffo, Signor Fochetti; Second Buffa, Signora Frudoni; Serious Man, Signor Savoi; Serious Woman, Signora Farnese; Last Man, Signor Micheli.

This published cast list (adapted from the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, September 9, 1776) contains many new names, reflecting the changes that had taken place at the King's Theatre. Not all of the new singers were of the first rank, and there had been a total change in the dance department: seven new dancers had been engaged and the ballet master was now M. Valluoy. Prior to the season, an amusing assessment of the various singers and singing actors then performing in London appeared in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on October 2, 1776. The author (who is listed as "Cat Gut") grades each singer out of twenty in the area of voice, expression, cadence (improvised ornamentation), knowledge and the ability to sing in tune. Rauzzini is given the highest overall scores, with grades of nineteen in each of the first three categories, sixteen in the area of knowledge and zero in the "out of Tune" category. Presumably, Rauzzini had perfect pitch, or close to it.

A document that was far less amusing appeared in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on November 1. Called "The Humble ADDRESS of the Subjects of the QUEEN of QUAVERS" (by a certain "Lord Peter"), the letter is a satirical attack against the management of the theater (Mary Ann Yates, in particular) and several of the singers. A postscript to this article includes the only mention of Rauzzini: "Signor Rauzzini, who is not only an excellent singer, but also a very good-natured and sensible man, has protested against the address, and is therefore to be considered in a very different light from what his brethren generally are." It was the kind of back-handed compliment that could make enemies for Rauzzini amongst his colleagues. The satire found in the "Address" was quickly dramatized and played in the Grand Saloon of the Exeter Change in 1775–76 before being taken up in performances of the *Recruiting Sergeant* at the Marylebone Gardens in May of 1776.[20]

The King's Theatre had hired the young Italian Anna Pozzi to replace Caterina Gabrielli as *prima donna*; however, it became evident in her performances of the opening opera of the season (the *pasticcio* opera *Astarto, re di Tiro)* that she was too inexperienced to be successful in a full season of operas. Pozzi was demoted to secondary roles and replaced by Cecilia Davies, who was willing to put aside past injuries to perform again in Italian opera.[21] Rauzzini appeared in Tommaso Traetta's *Germondo* and *Telemaco*, and his own *Piramo e Tisbe* and *Le ali d'Amor*. He also appeared in J. C. Bach's *Orione* as well as the *pasticcio* operas *Astarto* and *Antigono*. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* announced on January 10, 1777, that there was to be a revival of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, with Rauzzini and Cecilia Davies in the title roles. Unfortunately, this revival never took place, perhaps because the work had been performed as recently as 1773.[22] Gluck's music might have provided some much needed contrast to a rather unbalanced program of operas in that season.

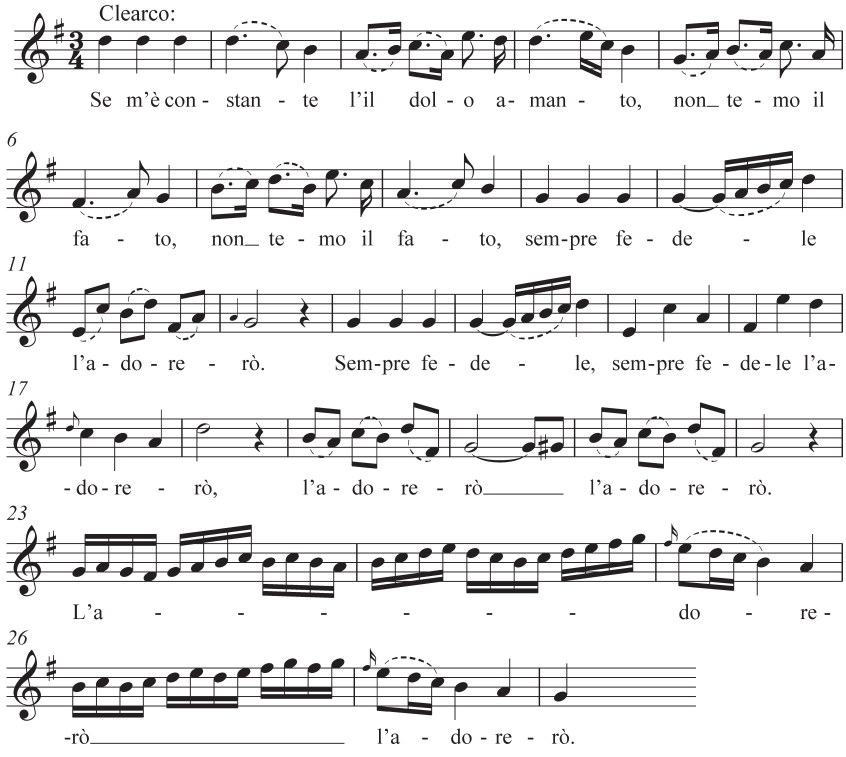
Astarto (*Pasticcio Opera Seria* in Three Acts)

As in previous years, the King's Theatre began its season with a *pasticcio* opera. The topic for the libretto was hardly new—it was based on Zeno's libretto, the full title of which was *Astarto, re di Tiro*, first set to music in 1709. The King's Theatre had introduced a *pasticcio* opera on the subject in 1770, at which time the libretto published by W. Griffin stated that the "Poetry as it stood some years ago, is now revived by Giovan Guelberto Bottarelli."[23] The opera had been under the direction of Tomasso Giardini at that time and there had been great hopes for it. Unfortunately, it received but two performances. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the theater returned to the story in 1776. This time the published libretto states "the translation by F[erdinando?] Bottarelli, A. M," who rewrote the text, preserving the incidents, but updating the language.[24]

Unfortunately, the success that the theater had enjoyed with the previous year's *Didone abbandonata* was not repeated when *Astarto* was given its premiere on November 2, 1776, and only three more performances followed. The *Morning Chronicle* of November 4, 1776, found the opera to be "an indifferent, unconnected, and unfinished production." The reviewer further proclaimed the music to be "not the most pleasing we ever heard." The exception to this condemnation was Rauzzini's contribution to the score of two arias which "were universally applauded." Similarly, the *St. James's Chronicle* on November 2, 1776, observed that the music "which received most Applause, was the music of two arias set by Rauzzini, and was sung with all the Advantages of his Taste, Action, and Voice." While good news for Rauzzini, it likely distressed Giardini who, once again, was in charge of the production and whose music figured prominently in the score. Giardini may have taken some solace in the fact that his overture became sufficiently popular to be released by the publisher Napier later that year. Bremner also released a collection of arias from the production.[25] One song, a rondeau by Paisiello, "Non temer bell'idol mio," also received an independent release by J. Duckworth, thereby instigating a contretemps between the two publishers. Duckworth complained in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* of December 7, 1776, that Bremner had attempted to discredit his right to publish, even though the latter claimed to have obtained the manuscript of the aria previously from the composer in Italy. The theater quickly withdrew the opera, preserving Giardini's overture for use in the the ballet that was appended to the performances of *Piramo e Tisbe* in December of that year.

Rauzzini's aria "Se m'è constante l'idolo amato" (act 3, scene 5) was included in the collection of music selected from the opera and published by Bremner in London. The text, with its raptures over the beauty of a beloved, played to Rauzzini's strengths as a composer. It is not heroic in nature, and the images that the words conjure up gave him the opportunity for heartfelt music that displayed his legato singing to its maximum potential. The aria is scored for oboes, bassoon, horns, and strings, and displays Rauzzini's usual skill with orchestration. The range is e′–a″, although the tessitura is generally rather low, and a″ is touched upon only twice during rapid scale passages. There is some passagework, somewhat pedestrian in nature, but nothing that is extended. This ternary aria is typical of Rauzzini's elegant style: the music is deeply felt and tasteful, while the varied orchestration provides the necessary musical contrasts not found in the vocal line.

Rauzzini also performed in the *pasticcio* opera *Antigono*, which was first heard on March 3, 1777. Once again, success eluded the theater with this choice, and the opera received only two performances. Surprisingly, Rauzzini did not compose his own arias: the collection of arias published by Bremner reveals that the music was by Vento, Traetta, and Hasse.[26] The presence of music by Traetta is evidence of just how strong his influence had become at the King's Theatre.

Example 3.4. Rauzzini, *Astarto, re di Tiro*, "Se m'è constante l'idolo amato," vocal line, mm. 1–28.

Clearco:
Se m'è con - stan - te l'il dol - o a- man - to, non_ te - mo il
6
fa - to, non_ te - mo il fa - to, sem-pre fe - de - le
11
l'a - do - re - rò. Sem-pre fe - de - le, sem-pre fe - de-le l'a-
17
-do-re - rò, l'a - do - re - rò_____ l'a - do - re - rò.
23
L'a - - - - - - do - re -
26
-rò_____ l'a - do - re - rò.

Charles Burney claimed that the great success accorded to Sacchini in London prevented Traetta's music from becoming popular.[27] That said, Traetta's presence in London could not be ignored when so many of his operas were being presented. In addition to this *pasticcio*, three operas solely of his composition were given their world premieres in 1777: *Germondo* (January 21), *Telemaco* (March 15), and *I capricci del Sesso* (May 20). Traetta's musical style provoked considerable critical debate. The *Public Advertiser* on January 27, 1777, pronounced *Germondo* to be "in Point of Dulness [*sic*] . . . extremely well suited to the Book, except one Song, which he has borrowed from Vento's Demofonte, and a Rondeau, evidently copied from a Ballad of Handel; the rest is nauseous and superlatively tedious."[28] The *Whitehall Evening Post* of March 15–18, 1777, observed that "Signor Trajetta [*sic*] is the most tiresome, heavy, and noisy composer, that ever shocked the ears of a British audience." The *Morning Chronicle* on March 17, 1777, was similarly harsh in its review of Traetta's *Telemaco*, adding that "Rauzzini did all that an able singer could possibly do to support an execrable Opera."

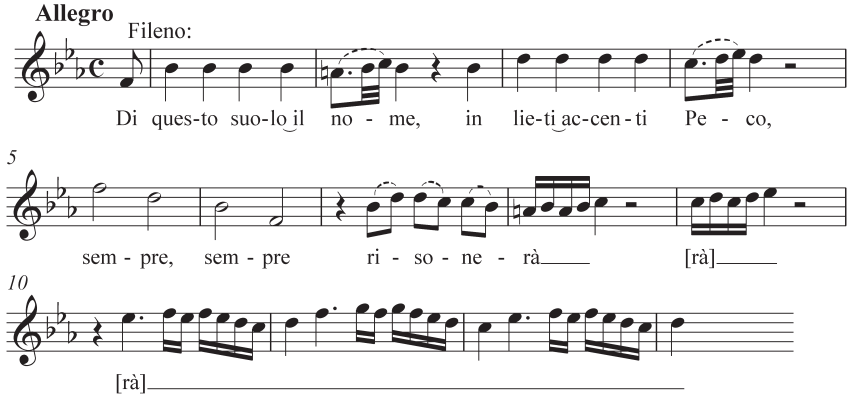
A minority of reviewers took a more positive tone and even compared Traetta favorably to Handel. A critique of theaters appeared in both the *Westminster Magazine* (vol. 4) and the *St. James's Chronicle* on March 15, 1777. It defends Traetta's vigorous style, claiming it to be "original, manly, expressive," while referring to Rauzzini's music as "feeble strains." The heavy concentration of Traetta's music in the season likely revealed Rauzzini's weaknesses as a performer. Rauzzini was not alone, however, in struggling with Traetta's music, and the *Public Advertiser* (mentioned above) criticized the vocal deficiencies of Cecilia Davies in *Germondo*, adding "nor does Signor Rauzzini make any Figure in this Opera."

As the season came to a close, there was a revival of J. C. Bach's *Orione*, a work first heard at this theater in 1763. The opera was revised to allow Rauzzini to compose a death scene in which he could demonstrate his dramatic acting. The *Morning Post* on May 29, 1777, repeated comments from the singer's first year in London concerning the excellence of his acting: "his action in the dying scene (which is new) equalled even that of Roscius himself." The reviewer also comments on the "beautiful accompanied recitative of Signor Rauzzini, in the new scene [being] worthy of the reputation of this excellent master." Other accounts allude to a troubled production. On May 26, 1777, the *Morning Chronicle* made the claim that only Rauzzini and Pozzi (the latter having improved considerably from earlier in the season) were truly capable of doing justice to the music. Pozzi even appears to have outshone Cecilia Davies who, uncharacteristically, was out of sorts vocally and had pitch problems. While the *St. James's Chronicle* expressed relief on May 24, 1777, that at the opera house "Factions [were] united, and almost the whole Strength of the House employed in this charming Opera," the comment raises questions about the divisions that appear to have developed in the audience. Rauzzini's final performance of the season was a benefit night on July 5 in his own *Le ali d'Amore*. At the end of the performance he performer his cantata, *La partenza*, with Nancy Storace. The text gave the singer an opportunity to thank his audience for his success in London.

La partenza

La partenza was intended to be an "Address of Thanks" from Rauzzini to the London audiences. It was performed by himself in the role of Fileno and Nancy Storace in the smaller role of Amore. The author of the text is not listed, although Badini is a likely candidate. He was the librettist for *L'ali d'Amore* and the two characters in the cantata are also found in Rauzzini's opera. Given that the cantata was performed immediately after the opera, and before the ballet that followed, it is appears that it became a part of the opera and was performed in costume for that evening. The cantata was subsequently published

Example 3.5. Rauzzini, *La partenza*, "Di questo suolo il nome," vocal line, mm. 1–13.



as Rauzzini's op. 4. The music consists of a pair of recitative-aria units followed by a final duet.[29] Rauzzini's pride in his accomplishment with this composition can be seen in its publication with an opus number. The text is not so occasion-specific that it would have prevented subsequent performances, although no such performances have been recorded. That said, its publication in full score must have limited its sales.

The music is certainly attractive, and the proto-Mozartean cast serves as a reminder that Rauzzini sang in the premieres of both *Lucio Silla* and the *Exsultate juliblate* in 1773. The first aria in *La partenza* is extended and consists of a largo opening in the nature of an accompanied recitative. The aria proper follows with the Allegro section. It begins with a strong opening motif with repeated notes of the type favored by Rauzzini in many of his compositions.[30] There are several coloratura passages, but none longer than six measures. Leaps of an octave or more are prominently featured in the central section, again reminding one of Mozart. The tessitura of the aria is fairly low, with the vocal part only rarely venturing above the staff. The aria is through-composed, although the text is set in a ternary fashion.

The part for Amore is constructed so as to show the young singer to good advantage but without tiring her. The vocal writing is very text-oriented and largely syllabic. There are no grand melodic gestures; even the coloratura writing is rather constrained. The concluding duet provided the special challenge of pairing a very young voice with that of an adult, both in the same range. The voice parts are treated independently as well as in harmony. The composer makes effective use of suspension dissonances in the vocal writing as well as the expected parallel thirds and sixths. Throughout the orchestration is handled with confidence. Rauzzini's skills are revealed particularly in the final duet,

where the voice parts are usually accompanied by the strings, leaving the horns and oboes to join the strings at cadences or at moments when the singers are silent. This contrasts with the more heavily scored opening aria that was sung by Rauzzini alone.

The managers of the theater had produced sixty-eight evenings of operas and ballets, yet this season had not been an artistic success when compared with the previous one.[31] The repertoire had been unbalanced and neither Rauzzini nor Cecilia Davies had elicited uniformly positive reviews. In particular, Traetta's operas had not been of the sort that played to Rauzzini's strengths. Had any operas by Sacchini been performed during this season, the effects might have been mitigated. Without the opportunities to demonstrate his singing to its best advantage, Rauzzini had to face newspaper reviews that were not always as euphoric as in the previous two seasons. It is also possible to conjecture that audiences had become somewhat tired of having the same leading man in the serious operas for three seasons in a row, regardless of how musically he sang and how well he acted. The bright spots for Rauzzini in this season were likely the revivals of his *Piramo e Tisbe* and *Le ali d'Amore*. He did not, however, have a new opera presented in London and thus did not have an opportunity to counter the negative impressions of his performances in Traetta's operas. For other critics, the comparison of Rauzzini's music with that of Traetta became the means to attack Rauzzini on other grounds, notably the description of Rauzzini's "feeble strains" quoted above from the *Westminster Magazine* and the *St. James's Chronicle*. The management's choice of repertoire for the season gave ammunition to those who either feared the castrato voice, or could not believe that a castrato composer could ever equal the merits of a "normal" male composer. The comment (quoted above) about Traetta's music being "manly" invites the interpretation that the review was less about the relative musical merits of two composers than it was a recycling of very old fears in Britain concerning the perceived dangers of the castrato voice. At the same time, such comments reveal that some in the London audiences were growing tired of Rauzzini's tasteful, pastoral works. If Traetta's music was painted with bold brush strokes that sometimes left smaller details unattended to, it was still vibrantly theatrical music that appealed to the men of the audience. By comparison, Rauzzini's music was likely viewed by some as being too "feminine."

The management team of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Yates and Frances Brooke had also come under attack. They had upset the managers of both the Theatres Royal at Covent Garden and Drury Lane with their attempts to perform plays at the King's Theatre. When the application to stage plays failed, the three managers then set upon a plan to open a theater in Birmingham. This plan required the blessing of Parliament. The managers surprisingly sought the help of David Garrick with the application, even though there had been considerable friction between the King's Theatre and the Theatre Royal at Drury Lane over conflicts in scheduling dates for benefit nights. When Parliament rejected the application

for the Birmingham project, Frances Brooke released some long pent-up venom in her novel *The Excursion* (1777). This novel not only satirized Garrick's acting style, but also criticized his management abilities. The critical response was quick to follow. The *Town & Country Magazine* published a stinging satire of the managers of the King's Theatre, based on the 1776 satire "The Humble ADDRESS of the Subjects of the QUEEN of QUAVERS."

Another satire was published in 1778 by J. Bew, called *The Remarkable Trial of the Queen of Quavers*, which attacked Mary Ann Yates in particular but also made references to Rauzzini's departure from the theater.[32] The author of the satire makes many remarkable comments, not the least of which is that the opera house managers must have indulged in witchcraft to have fostered such a taste for the castrato voice in London! The satirist then paints a truly operatic scene in which Rauzzini and Mrs. Yates are the principal characters. Rauzzini is made to complain to the management about the shaky finances of the company, stating that he must repair to the country for other work. He fears, however, that his enemies will agitate against him during his absence. Mrs. Yates then gives him a ring with the promise that she will come to his aid should he send it back to her as a sign of his need. This, of course, is the inverse of the normal situation between men and women in such dramatic situations in plays and once again raises the issue of the negative impact of castrati on women. Rauzzini's worst fears come true as audience members demand a new *primo uomo*. The singer ignores Mrs. Yates's letters of warning until it is too late and when he does return the ring, it is pawned by the theater's librettist (seemingly a reference to Bottarelli). By the time that the librettist's duplicity is discovered, a new castrato (Roncaglia) has been hired.[33] While this satire was published after Rauzzini had left the theater, it is unlikely that he was happy to read such degrading references. These literary effusions, however, do give some indication of the "hothouse" environment of the King's Theatre during Rauzzini's last year as *primo uomo*, an atmosphere that was not likely conducive to a happy working environment.

While Rauzzini did not return for the 1777–78 opera season, he did not leave London. One question has never been answered satisfactorily: did Rauzzini choose not to return to the theater, or did the theater not renew his contract? Mollie Sands cites the singer's pronounced nervousness as a possible reason for his decision not to return, while Ian Woodfield infers that it was the management who decided not to hire him for a fourth season. Susan Burney makes comments on the need for the constant need for "strong new voices," in London, and further comments that "castrati quickly wore out their welcome in London and were not rehired."[34] London audiences could become weary of seeing the same soloists season after season. Fresh voices were always a welcome sound as long as they were great singers. In the absence of conclusive proof of the reasons why Rauzzini either left or was not rehired, the following examination of the known facts may provide some perspective on the issues.

Ian Woodfield writes of growing tensions between the management and the singer, resulting from a presumed animosity between Rauzzini and Sacchini that made it dangerous for the theater to retain the singer's services after the events that took place during the premiere of *Le ali d'Amore*.[35] While it is true that the friendship between Rauzzini and Sacchini turned bitter in the early 1780s, there seems little evidence to support such a scenario in 1777. Proof that the two worked closely together in concerts after 1777 can be found in the advertisements for Nancy Storace's farewell concert in 1778 (see chapter 4). It is entirely possible that the relationship between the managers of the theater and Rauzzini had become somewhat strained during his third season, given his lack of success in Traetta's operas. Other singers, such as Pacchierotti, who succeeded Roncaglia at the theater, had stronger voices, and it is entirely possible that the theater managers felt the need for such a voice.

From the other perspective, the punishing schedule of performances at the King's Theatre, to say nothing of Rauzzini growing prominence as a concert singer, must have been exhausting for him. When one studies the music that Rauzzini composed for himself during these years, it becomes evident that he composed in a lower tessitura than had Mozart at the time of *Lucio Silla* in 1772. Susan Burney records Pacchierotti's advice to Rauzzini from early 1780 that he should return to Italy for several years, and then come back to London "with added splendour."[36] This was sage advice for someone who wanted to renew his operatic career as a *performer*. Indeed, Pacchierotti moved back and forth between the Continent and Britain, each time returning to London with an enhanced reputation.[37] The question must be asked, however, if Rauzzini wanted his future career to rest primarily on performance. I suggest that he had decided that composition should play an equal role. Viewed from that perspective, his decision to take a break from the operatic stage is completely understandable. Not all aspects of his life in London had been satisfactory in spite of his success and the financial rewards and the attention from society that he had enjoyed. While having a long-term contract at a theater provided financial stability, it also meant that Rauzzini sometimes had to work in situations that were not congenial. Furthermore, performing for three years in a large theater with a voice that was not quite big enough must have taken its toll, especially since the theater presented music that did not always suit him vocally or temperamentally. As early as 1775 Rauzzini was complaining of having to force his voice when unwell. Frances Burney records a conversation in which the singer was enjoined by her father to perform in a social situation. Rauzzini asked to be excused, "declaring most solemnly that he had, having a dreadful Cold, been obliged, the preceding Evening, to exert himself so as to force his Voice, in consequence of which his Throat was actually quite *raw & sore*."[38] Could Rauzzini's voice have been showing signs of wear and tear? It would seem a distinct possibility, especially since Charles Burney states that Rauzzini did not always

spend enough time in vocal practice. Burney writes in his *General History* that Rauzzini "had a real genius for writing, which inclined him to devote that time to the pen and the improvement of his hand, which, in his station, would have been better bestowed in nursing and exercising his voice."[39]

The anti-castrato comments which emerged at the start of his third season in London might not have enticed Rauzzini to remain on the operatic stage. The notice in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, mentioned above, was a particularly unwelcome start to a new season of operatic performances. Later in that same season the *St. James's Chronicle* review of *Astarto* on November 2, 1776, contained several negative and surprising comments that were subsequently reprinted in other sources: "This Performer however seems to grow fantastically vain of the publick Favour, and is not sufficiently guarded and careful in some of his Actions." Exactly what these actions were remain unknown, although they may refer to his increasing desire to compose for the theater or his growing insinuation within the higher levels of society. The possibility that the handsome *musico* would become the paramour of an important lady in society (and thereby cause her downfall) appears to have been a source of gossip during his days in London. There is also evidence to show that some women could not resist exacerbating the situation. Elizabeth Harris wrote to her sister on March 9, 1779, of the confusion that resulted from a request that her daughter Louisa wanted to make to Rauzzini: "Louisa told him she had a proposal to make, but would not insist on his complying; the poor little man being us'd to have improper proposals made him from ladies, color'd up and was in the most utmost confusion."[40] Rauzzini was much relieved to learn that the request was only for temporary voice lessons while Sacchini, Louisa's regular teacher, was indisposed.

There is one further piece of evidence that points to Rauzzini having decided to leave the theater for a year, a sabbatical during which he could explore other musical options. The *Morning Post* on October 28, 1777, writes that "Rauzzini remains in town another year, in expectation of an engagement the season after this." While this does not conclusively prove either scenario, it does demonstrate that he did not see his relationship with the management of the theater as being irreparably ended. Ultimately this statement proved to be a double-edged blade for the singer. While it signaled his willingness to return to the stage, it also put Rauzzini in the category of a "hanger-on," someone much despised by Susan Burney. She writes of the once revered Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci now as a perceived pathetic hanger-on at the opera-house, joining with other detractors who "did everything but hiss during Pacchierotti's arias."[41]

As Patrick Barbier notes, most castrato singers felt the need to return to their home country when they finished working on foreign soil. Rauzzini was exceptional in that he ultimately made Britain his home.[42] Whether or not this was a decision that had been made prior to his leaving the King's Theatre,

or after a period of reflection cannot be stated with certainty. It is possible that Rauzzini initially saw time away from the King's Theatre as an opportunity to investigate different career opportunities for him in Britain. If these did not work out, a return to the Continent would have been possible. Giving up the stage completely would have limited his musical options on the Continent far more than in Britain, where his compositions had become known and his operas were revived at the King's Theatre. He had established himself as a teacher in London and he was in demand as a concert singer. A return to the Continent after three years away would have required time to restart a singing career there. Rauzzini had made many important contacts in Britain with people of influence and there were opportunities in that country that were likely not to be found elsewhere. Given his great interest in composition, it seems reasonable that he wanted to take time off to further establish himself as a serious composer.

It could hardly be coincidental that the publication of Rauzzini's *Six Lessons for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte, with a Violin accompanyment* [*sic*] as his op. 1 with the firm of John Welcker coincided with his departure from the theater. This publication was followed in the same year by his op. 2 string quartets. Quartets for keyboard, two violins, and cello followed in 1778 as his op. 6; a further set of string quartets came that same year. That he composed so much purely instrumental music appears to indicate that Rauzzini the composer wanted to distance himself from Rauzzini the singer. When Rauzzini helped organize Nancy Storace's farewell concert on April 27, 1778, the music on the program included an overture, quartet, and work for solo cello from his pen. His career as a composer also appears to have received royal support: the *Morning Post* on March 31, 1777, records a concert to take place at court for the queen, promising the leading vocal and instrumental performers of the day performing music by Sacchini, Rauzzini, and [J. C.] Bach. At the same time, Rauzzini still needed to support himself, given that his salary from the opera house was no longer available to him. The invitation to perform in a series of subscription concerts in Bath organized by the violinist Franz La Motte must have seemed an intriguing proposition. La Motte was a talented musician and the series also featured other musicians of considerable prestige. Over the next couple of years, Rauzzini came to spent more and more time in Bath, ultimately making it his home.

Chapter Four

Concerts and Composing

1774–81

Public concerts were presented in London some fifty years before the concept was introduced on the Continent. By the beginning of the last decade of the eighteenth century contemporary reports often speak of the passion for music that gripped the city. On April 1, 1788, the *Morning Chronicle* speaks of "the present increasing rage for Musick. . . . There are concerts in every part of the town." A letter dated July 4, 1791, written by a Miss Iremonger, records that "at the Concerts in Hanover Square, where [Haydn] has presided, his presence seems to have awakened such a degree of enthusiasm in the audience as almost amounts to frenzy!"[1] While Rauzzini's early days in London predate the arrival of Haydn by nearly twenty years, the passion for music-making of all types was already well established in the capital city, thereby presenting opportunities for the singer that he might not have envisioned when he first arrived.

Rauzzini quickly established himself as a concert singer, performing in both public concerts and the homes of the wealthy, where his impeccable manners charmed his hosts. On January 25, 1775, the *Daily Advertiser* announced that he would take part in a benefit concert on the following day to support "DECAYED MUSICIANS *and their* FAMILIES." This concert was held at the King's Theatre and featured the leading singers of the season, as well as instrumentalists such as Wilhelm Cramer (violin), C. F. Baumgarten (bassoon), Pietro Florio (flute), and J. C. Fischer (oboe). Rauzzini sang in both parts of the concert, including a duet with Catarina Schindlerin. Rauzzini also took part in subsequent benefit concerts for this organization: a particularly elaborate concert is recorded in the London newspapers for February 15, 1776, featuring many of the same soloists. The occasion also appears to have been the first time that Rauzzini appeared on the same stage with the violinist Franz La Motte [Lamotte] (?1751–80), a musician who was to play an important part in Rauzzini's life after 1777. Indeed, their lives were closely intertwined both musically and financially until La Motte's death in 1780.

Both Sainsbury and Fétis claim that La Motte was born in Vienna, although Charles Burney states that he was of Flemish origins.[2] Burney states that La Motte, a member of the Hopfkapelle of Empress Maria Theresa, was the "best solo player and sightsman, upon the violin, at Vienna." The author further states that when La Motte went to Italy to further his study Nardini refused to take him on as a student, because his ability was so great that it threatened Nardini's preeminence there.[3] While La Motte had the ability to attract people through his elegance and virtuoso playing, he also appears to have been troubled, and led a dissipated lifestyle (Fétis writes of La Motte's dangerous habits, but does not specify them). La Motte appears to have taken advantage of people whenever he could. Leopold Mozart's references to the violinist are not flattering. On June 30, 1770, he recounts how La Motte had been sent to Italy on the command of Empress Maria Theresa, but had stayed in Naples for an extra three weeks in the hopes of furthering his career.[4] La Motte seemingly had the ability to exploit people, the nobility included, which led Leopold on November 20, 1777, to warn his son of this aspect of the violinist's personality.[5]

The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* recorded on December 9, 1775, that La Motte was engaged at the Pantheon Theater in London to replace Felice Giardini. La Motte quickly made a name for himself, both as the leader of the orchestra heard in the celebrated subscription concerts at the Pantheon, and as a soloist there. A featured soloist in the benefit concert for Decayed Musicians at the King's Theatre in 1776, he also performed concertos in the oratorio concerts at the Theater Royal, Covent Garden. A laudatory appraisal of his playing appeared in the *London Packet, or New Lloyd's Evening Post* on February 23, 1776: "But how shall we do justice to La Motte's uncommon talents?—There never was surely greater ease of personal action, added to such masterly execution,—the Violin in La Motte's hands, is more than one instrument—it speaks the voice of several." John Marsh's accounts also confirm the high level of La Motte's performances and his technical abilities.[6] Remarkably, the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* recorded on February 29, 1776, that La Motte had been thrown from a horse while on his way to lead the orchestra at Covent Garden in an oratorio performance. He was too shaken to do that but he still played his scheduled concerto that evening. His fame spread outside of London, and Lysons records that in 1777 he led the orchestra of the Three Choirs Festival at Hereford for the first time.[7] Seemingly, there are no accounts of the darker sides of La Motte's personality during the mid-1770s so it may be that Rauzzini was unaware of these when they formed their partnership.

Rauzzini capitalized on his growing fame at the King's Theatre to perform outside of London. One of the most prestigious festivals was the Three Choirs Festival, which rotated its yearly schedule between Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester. While the performance of large-scale choral works dominated programs, top-ranking soloists did much to attract audiences. For Rauzzini, appearing at this festival not only served to spread his fame as a singer beyond

the confines of London but also gave him the opportunity to hear choral repertoire that he would not have encountered during his time on the Continent. Lysons records that Rauzzini was "singularly affected" by what he heard during his first appearance at the Gloucester festival in September 1775.[8] Rauzzini took pains to ingratiate himself with the organizers. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* recorded on September 25, 1775, that "Signor Rauzzini carried all before him; he was not less admired for his singing than his behaviour. The Stewards mean to engage him for the next year. Sir William Guise, one of the Stewards, gave him twenty guineas out of his own pocket, beside the usual salary allowed by the charity." It is significant to note that his "behaviour" was deemed worthy of comment, surely an indication of his awareness that he needed to make a good impression all around on the organizers of the festival. It is clear that Rauzzini knew how to play the social game of music.

Advertisements for the 1776 festival held in Worcester, such as those found in the *British Chronicle or Pugh's Hereford Journal* on August 15, 1776, indicate that Rauzzini again took part in a concert of miscellaneous vocal works with Miss Linley, Miss Salmon, and several singers of more local fame (Norris, Dyne, and Matthews) and unnamed female singers. In September of that year, Rauzzini was in Worcester where three oratorios by Handel were performed: *Judas Maccabeus*, *Joshua*, and *Messiah*. Rauzzini had quickly sized up the British fascination with Handel's music and he was soon in demand for this repertoire. The performance of *Messiah* was given in the cathedral in Worcester because it was considered to be a "sacred oratorio," while the other two works by Handel and the concerts of miscellaneous pieces were presented in St. John's House. In addition to Rauzzini, the performances featured Mr. Corse, Mr. Gaudry, and Nancy Storace. Lysons records that Rauzzini had taken his student, Nancy, as a "juvenile performer."[9]

Unfortunately, the repertoire performed in the miscellaneous concerts at which Rauzzini sang is rarely recorded, although it would seem likely that he would have wanted to sing some of his own works. Without doubt Rauzzini was aware of his value, and charged fees accordingly. Following his performance at the Salisbury Festival in 1776, Rauzzini raised his fees for the following season. John Marsh records that Rauzzini "being then as it were in his prime pleas'd exceedingly, the ladies in particular."[10] In 1777, Marsh records:

> It was particularly desired that he sho'd likewise be engaged again this time, but as his price was *then* reckon'd very high, viz. 60. guineas (10. more than had ever been paid for a principal singer before) Mr. Harris was rather apprehensive the finances of the Concert (w'ch were then at a low ebb) were hardly sufficient to run the risque of so great an expence [*sic*] for a single performer . . . This being much discuss'd at the time, an elderly lady (I now forget who) of the neighbourhood was so public spirited on hearing of the low state of the Concert finances as to make a present of £100, upon condition of Rauzzini's being again employed.[11]

Rauzzini's name was already a significant drawing card for the Salisbury organizers; advertisements such as that found in the *London Evening Post* on August 21, 1777, indicate that "Sig. Rauzzini is to sing in every performance, except the second evening."

During the 1777 Three Choirs Festival Rauzzini not only sang in the oratorios, but his *Piramo e Tisbe* was performed on August 13, 1777. This was a signal honor to the singer given that Lysons records that it was "the only entire performance of that nature ever introduced at the Meeting."[12] The author states that the opera was presented "in the manner of an oratorio, on the Wednesday evening at Hereford, in 1777." Given that the work had been published in a reduction for two voices as a cantata, it seems likely that this was the version of the opera that was performed at Hereford. Records of who performed the role of Tisbe have not been located, although Nancy Storace seems to be a likely candidate. She was still very young, but she had already appeared at the King's Theatre in London. As well, there is far more music for the character of Piramo in the reduction than there is for Tisbe. The Marsh journals appear to indicate that Rauzzini continued to be engaged by the festival even into the 1790s. Marsh, however, was not strictly accurate in his statement: Lysons records that Rauzzini never sang as a soloist at the festival after he left the King's Theatre but that "he seldom omitted to attend them as an *amateur* till his death."[13] Such loyalty for this festival would appear to indicate that he had developed a strong attachment for choral singing and the music of Handel, in particular.

Rauzzini was generous to charities such as hospitals. On April 2, 1776, he took part in a performance of Felice Giardini's oratorio *Ruth,* a benefit concert for the Lock Hospital located near Hyde Park in London.[14] This hospital had been founded in 1746 to treat venereal diseases and relied on public support for its survival. Fund-raising events began within a couple of years. The performance of Giardini's *Ruth* became a yearly event between 1768 and 1780, much as Handel's *Messiah* was associated with the Foundling Hospital. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on April 1, 1776, announced that, in addition to Rauzzini, the two Linley sisters, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Champness were to perform. McVeigh records that these annual performances were considered to be musical events of importance and were enthusiastically attended.[15] For Rauzzini, appearing in this performance not only allowed him to perform with singers who did not sing Italian opera, but also demonstrated his support for and interest in the citizens of London. Rauzzini appeared again in the same oratorio on April 15, 1778, with most of the same singers who had performed two years earlier. A notice of thanks published by the Board of Governors for the hospital in the *Morning Post* on May 4 indicates that the singers had donated their services. This was not uncommon since the hospital did not receive public funding and could not afford to pay high fees to singers.

Visiting Oxford in June 1776, Rauzzini took part in a benefit concert for the Radcliffe Infirmary where he "sang several Italian songs," according to the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* of June 27. Rauzzini was only one of several performers on the program, with each receiving the amount of time appropriate to their prestige. Whether or not he was able to use such occasions to further his compositional aims and perform his own music was not recorded. During the same visit to Oxford in 1776, Rauzzini took part in a performance of Handel's *Samson*. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* recorded on July 6, 1776, that the oratorio was "performed in the theater before a very large and respectable audience, and received with universal applause." This appears to have been Rauzzini's first experience singing this oratorio.

There are occasional references to operatic works being performed during the summer months, one assumes in concert. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on July 26, 1776, states:

> *Extract of a letter from Brighthelmstone, dated July 17.*
>
> The present season is the fullest, and most polite we ever remember;—the rooms are constantly full, and families of distinction are notwithstanding coming in every hour;—it is said, we are to have half a dozen Italian Operas performed here, and that Rauzzini, Savoi &c have consented to come down for a time to gratify some of their best patrons, for the ensuing month.

Brighton (as the city is now called) had already begun to attract society during the late summer months when those fleeing the unpleasantness of larger cities found more attractive climes. That a program of six Italian operas with the leading singers of the King's Theatre would be performed reflects the growing reputation of Brighton as a fashionable destination.

Prior to Rauzzini's final performances at the King's Theatre as *primo uomo*, the London press reported on a concert series to be given for Queen Charlotte. Rauzzini was listed as one of the performers, alongside a glittering array of the finest performers in London including Lucrezia Aguari, Cecilia Davies, Felice Giardini, Franz La Motte, John Crosdil, J. C. Fischer, J. C. Bach, and K. F. Abel. The composers listed in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on March 31, 1777, for these concerts were Sacchini, Rauzzini, and J. C. Bach. The association of Rauzzini and Sacchini with Bach bears tribute to Rauzzini's growing recognition in London as a composer. With his subsequent departure from the King's Theatre, Rauzzini undertook concert work, teaching, and composing as a means of supporting himself. He acquired the chance to co-direct a concert series through the auspices of Franz La Motte. In the autumn of 1777, Rauzzini began his association with La Motte in the presentation of concerts in Bath.[16]

Initial Concerts in Bath

One might question why La Motte would have wanted to absent himself from the more active musical life of London or the Continent to give concerts in Bath. He may have been attracted to the possibilities attendant on the descent upon the city of the social elite of the country during the fall and early winter season. At the same time, it appears that La Motte's reputation had begun to suffer. The *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer* on June 12, 1778, printed the following:

> No notes but the *dying notes of a Swan*, are to be heard from the *Musical Cognoscenti*, in consequence of the late precipitate departure of La Motte, and their *caro carissimo*, their soul-enchanting Rauzzini. As for the ladies, many of them have been in fits ever since. That La Motte should take *French leave* of them was no more than they might have expected; he was acting in character. But that Rauzzini, the dear creature Rauzzini, who seemed to live upon their smiles, to live but to please them, that Rauzzini should thus desert them, was incredible! Truth to tell, there are many *honest* men, venders too of *honest commodities*, who, though they bear the loss with more philosophy, have yet greater cause to complain. When a tradesman disposes of his property, he little thinks that the only return he is to have for it is, *a song*, or perhaps a *flourish upon the fiddle*. He would rather sign a receipt in full, and *touch the cash*, than have his ears tickled by the finest *castrato*, or *cat gut scraper* in Europe.

The notice infers that La Motte had decamped from London without notice, likely leaving his creditors unpaid. Furthermore, it is suggested that this was characteristic of him. Rauzzini's name is tarnished by association, although the report does not state that he was fleeing from creditors. In his case, the newspaper was left to fall back on the old trope of his having curried favor from the women of London with the inference that his career had been dependent upon looks and sex appeal rather than talent.

Further complicating the situation are recorded complaints about La Motte's playing. He was undoubtedly a talented violinist, but his taste, which tended toward showmanship, did not always please critics. Within half a year of his arrival in London, the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* complained (on March 1, 1776) that his performances "imported a number of very extraordinary tricks," while at the same time admitting that he excelled in their execution.[17] His musical style was foreign to the ears of some in London. The *London Packet, or New Lloyd's Evening Post* on November 18–20, 1776, complained that La Motte's compositions were "not yet written to English tastes." La Motte also faced stiff competition in London from other violinists. A year later, the same newspaper wrote (October 20–22, 1777) that "Mons. *La Motte*, unable to stand the contest any longer with the Signors *Giardini* and *Cramer*, has made a trip

to Bath, where he intends to exercise his *bow arm*." While La Motte remained the orchestra leader in oratorios and concerts at the Pantheon and elsewhere, the number of his concerto appearances had fallen off.[18] The newspaper critic prophesied that he was unlikely to succeed in Bath if Linley Jr. returned to his home town. La Motte's concerts in Bath may have been a case of hedging his bets, in the hope that he could reestablish himself in London.

Initially, the situation in Bath did not look promising. Mr. Gyde, the manager of the Lower Assembly Rooms, wanted to attract the aristocratic and wealthy visitors who had previously flocked to the concerts presented by Thomas Linley Sr. in the more fashionable New (or Upper) Assembly Rooms. These concerts had lost some of their prestige because Linley had been absent during the previous autumn. Gyde thus mounted his attack before Linley could reestablish himself in the city, and set out to hire La Motte, knowing that he had a significant following in London. Controversy was quick to follow. The *Bath Chronicle* reported the following on October 30, 1777: "We are assured, that Mr. La Motte had not the least idea of opposition to any other concert, when he engaged the celebrated singer Mr. Rauzzini, and Mr. Fischer; it was at the request of many respectable friends, that induced him to have a subscription concert; the unavoidable great expence [*sic*] attending this undertaking, to fulfil his engagement with the public, will it is hoped induce the generous lovers of music to protect him." The venture attracted the attention of the London press. The *Morning Chronicle* reported the following on November 15, 1777:

> A rival concert, indeed, has made some noise, and carried (oh wonderful!) many of the Upper Town down to the Lower Rooms, to hear La Motte and Rauzzini. Fischer on the oboe has played at both concerts. Five hundred auditors at the Lower Rooms last night. Near one hundred subscribed that very morning, who had with-held their money till they knew that Rauzzini was actually in the town. It seems he sent word he was lame: but La Motte, who thought it a lame excuse, set out from hence with a pair of pistols, and returned with the tuneful castrato.

This colorful account of Rauzzini being dragged at gun point by La Motte to perform does not paint the picture of a successful business partnership in the making, although this may be a piece of journalistic invention.

La Motte was initially hired to give only four concerts in the first season (November 11, 18, and 24, and December 2, 1777), as Gyde seemingly wanted to test the waters. The newspaper account above suggests that Rauzzini had been contracted by La Motte, although Rauzzini was listed as a co-director of the concerts in the advertisement found in the *Bath Chronicle* for November 6, 1777. Given that the Linley family boasted some particularly fine singers, having a soloist of the calibre of Rauzzini would have been necessary to entice audiences to the Lower Rooms. La Motte and Rauzzini had another "star"

drawcard in the person of the oboist J. C. Fischer (1733–1800), one of the best-known instrumentalists of the period. The concerts must have quickly become popular because, at the time of the third concert, Rauzzini and La Motte expressed their appreciation in print to [John] Palmer, the manager of the Theater Royal, Bath, for allowing them to engage any musicians they deemed necessary from the theater orchestra to complete their orchestra in the Lower Rooms.[19] This meant that their concerts had to begin at 6:30 p.m. so that the theater musicians could get to their posts in time for performances. The *Morning Post* on November 15, 1777, reported on the success of the concerts to its London readers:

> Such is the delightful power, and effect of musical harmony, when nothing else can have its influence to settle the malice, and rage of party [partisan interests]: —music alone seems to have this wonderful extent. No instance so plainly demonstrates this assertion, as the subscription concert last night of Messrs. La Motte, and Rauzzini; if we may judge from the numerous, and polite company at this assembly, and the general harmony, and satisfaction of the company: Party with its malevolent tongue, and sable wings of blackest hue, received a mortal *blow*—it *fell*, —and *died* with *catgut*, and the *castrato's* voice, which to do it justice, were most charmingly enchanting indeed, as those he warbled were of his own composition: —he has a shrill, soft, melodious, pleasing voice, and loud *enough*; —*his manner is exquisitely engaging.*

It is clear that both La Motte and Rauzzini had won over the local audience and silenced the opposition. It is also significant that the author of the account makes special mention of the fact that Rauzzini's voice was "loud enough," perhaps a rebuke to critics in London. That Rauzzini sang his own compositions also furthered his reputation as a composer. The popularity of the first set of concerts resulted in a second set of four. Announced on December 11, 1777, in the *Bath Chronicle*, the concerts were to be given on December 16, 23, and 30, 1777, and January 6, 1778. There was a differential subscription fee in place for each set of concerts; the *Bath Chronicle* reported on November 6, 1777, that tickets for gentlemen would cost one guinea, and those for women half that. Unfortunately, none of the repertoire that was to be performed in these concerts was advertised.[20]

There is little doubt that the two series of concerts had proved to be a grand success. Rauzzini, La Motte, and Fischer shared a musical common ground. Fischer had a significant German career before coming to Britain, while both La Motte and Rauzzini had spent time in Vienna and La Motte in particular appears to have absorbed much of the musical ethos of the early First Viennese School. Examination of his Violin Concerto no. 2 (1775) reveals a sure compositional hand. The music generates much of the same kind of musical excitement that Mozart achieves in his violin concertos, which is all the more remarkable given that La Motte's melodic inspiration is not the equal

of Mozart's.[21] Presumably, the solo writing was designed to demonstrate La Motte's strengths as a violinist. He must have had a strong bowing arm, easy access to the high register, and memorable staccatos: indeed, his brilliant staccato playing was still remembered in Vienna in 1783, when Wolfgang Mozart commented on it in a letter written to his father on December 6.[22] Samuel Wesley writes of his appreciation of the violinist's performances between the acts of the oratorios presented at the Theater Royal, Covent Garden.[23] La Motte created a considerable stir with his performances and, on the surface at least, it must have seemed that a partnership between him and Rauzzini had much potential for success. The *Morning Chronicle* reported on November 22, 1777, that "La Motte and Rauzzini succeed so much with their concert, that the issue will probably be a coalition, and their alternate performance at the Old and New Rooms."

Performing now in the New or Upper Assembly Rooms was a bold move, one designed to increase the prominence of the series. Linley soon came to realize just how popular his rivals were; Kenneth James notes that Linley even included Rauzzini and La Motte as featured soloists in his own concert series on December 3.[24] Although both La Motte and Rauzzini returned to London after their final concert in Bath, it is evident that they had decided to present their next concert series in the Upper Rooms, thus setting the stage for the considerable controversy which erupted prior to their concerts in 1778–79.

There were those who saw this move as an intrusion on the Linley family's rights by foreigners. The *Morning Post* printed the following notice on January 22, 1778:

> Nothing shews the injustice, affectation, tyranny, and unreasonable prejudice of the *pretended* judges of music in this place, more than their insisting upon the master of the Upper Rooms to break through his engagement with young Mr. Linley, to whom he is bound by *honour*, *justice*, and *gratitude*, to let his room for a subscription concert next winter season, in favour of the *immaculate* Mons. *L'a Motte* [*sic*], and the *gallant* Signor Rauzzini; in consequence of which, notwithstanding the *amazing* friendship some of them profess for his father, it is feared Mr. Linley will be driven from his *native* city, and his *father's* concert; who is, in spite of *fashion* and *puffs* in the news-papers, the *best* violin player, and beyond compare the *better* musician; but such is the interest and power of *great* and *good* men! And such is the misfortune to be an *English Musician!* Indeed I am sorry that a young man of so much *real genius* and *merit*, should be of a profession in which *no* ability *can* recommend, unless accompanied by that kind of address which I think an Englishman of any profession is better without.

One wonders if the authorial hand behind this notice was not Thomas Linley Sr., who was in charge of music at the Theater Royal, Drury Lane. There are several indicators which reveal the caring eye of a father who was concerned about his son's future. The tone is decidedly anti-foreigner, and the notice

proclaims loudly the rights of the native-born in Bath. The comment about "the misfortune to be an *English Musician*" is easily understood when the most prestigious of the London concert series employed Continental composers and soloists almost exclusively. This was not the only controversy to beset Rauzzini at this time, as a student of his, Mrs. William Gooch, became so enamored of him that her husband charged her with adultery. This event in Rauzzini's life will be examined in greater detail in chapter 6.

A letter from Bath, dated October 24, 1778, was printed in the *Morning Chronicle* on November 4, 1778, concerning the uncomfortable situation with the proposed concerts: "War is likely to break out here again: Messr. La Motte and Rauzzini have fixed their concert at the Upper Rooms only, a proceeding which has brought forth some Lower Town protests. It is to be lamented that things cannot be settled upon a fair and equitable footing, and the diversions and emoluments arising to those who conduct them be equally divided, making a proper allowance for the much greater expence [*sic*] of the Upper Rooms, both as to rent, extent, and magnificence." In booking only the Upper Rooms, La Motte appears to have sabotaged Mr. Gyde, the manager of the Lower Rooms, who had given support to La Motte in the previous year. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported on November 3, 1778, that Gyde had spent a considerable sum on renovations so that it would be possible to present orchestral concerts in his location. Furthermore, it was reported that various promises were made to Gyde about any future concert series with La Motte:

> Mr. La Motte *at that time being extremely grateful* to Mr. Gyde, without whose assistance he owned he could not have had any opportunity of shewing his abilities, offered then to promise that he never would play, or direct a concert anywhere in Bath, but at Mr. Gyde's rooms. Mr. Gyde, however, did not accept this offer, but told him he desired no monopoly, but only to have an equal share, and therefore only desired him to *have* the concerts alternately. This Mr. La Motte agreed to very readily, and made a promise accordingly.

When La Motte took all of his concerts to the New Rooms, he not only appeared to be ungrateful, but also dishonest. A response to the above report was printed on November 6, 1778, in the same London newspaper. In it, the author paints a different picture of what happened, with La Motte being forced to take the Upper Rooms for ten performance days or "lose the use of them altogether." The report states that it was Thomas Linley Jr. who was responsible for the controversy; the author makes the insulting comment, "and what was *he*, in any respect, when compared to Mons. La Motte?" Such overt prejudice against a native son of Bath and a composer and violinist of great merit only served to make La Motte's actions appear worse. Certainly, the earlier comment about the unfortunate lot of the English musician must have resonated even louder. On November 12, 1778, the *Morning Post* again stirred the pot in a "Letter from Bath, 9 Nov. 1778": "A correspondent desires Mr. La Motte

will inform the public, if those twelve Gentlemen who so kindly undertook to indemnify Mr. La Motte for breaking his word, and deserting his benefactor, undertook also to ensure his *character* and *conscience*?" Such reports circulating in the London newspapers did nothing to improve La Motte's reputation, and likely cast a shadow on Rauzzini as well. Much editorial ink was spilled in the Bath newspapers, only some of which has survived. A letter to the editor published in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 5, 1778, refers to La Motte's explanations for the move to the Upper Rooms in the *Bath Journal*. This letter containing La Motte's statement has not been traced, but the author of the letter in the *Chronicle* found his statements to be unconvincing, concluding that "Self-Conviction may perhaps refuse an answer, but disinterested Equity knows it has a right to expect one."

The controversy became moot, however, when Linley's concerts came to an end in 1778. Linley Sr. had graciously given up his benefit evening on December 31, 1777, in favor of the Pauper Charity, an organization devoted to providing health care to the less fortunate.[25] Thereafter, Linley Sr. returned to his duties in London and the remainder of his series of concerts was led by Herschel. Tragedy struck the family when Thomas Linley Jr., on whom the father placed so much hope for a brilliant musical future, died tragically in a boating accident in August 1778; his father never again conducted concerts in Bath.[26] This unfortunate situation coincided with La Motte's plans to take control of the concerts in the Upper Rooms.

La Motte and Rauzzini presented a longer series of subscription concerts in their second season in Bath. Ten concerts were presented between November 4, 1778, and January 6, 1779, with a further "Spiritual Concert" offered on December 24, 1778. In addition to Rauzzini, Maria Prudom ("from the Opera-House") was listed as a vocal performer in the advertisements and the instrumentalists now included La Motte, J. C. Fischer, [Giuseppe] Puppo (viola), and [?George Lewis] De Camp (flute). While only subscribers could attend rehearsals, there were individual tickets sold to concerts. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on November 15, 1778, that the prices were rather steep for the individual tickets: 7s. 6d. for men and 5s. for women. After November 25, a half-subscription became available for the remaining concerts at one guinea for men and half of that for women subscribers. In spite of the high cost of the concerts, they were so successful that the *Bath Chronicle* reported on November 26, 1778, that the fourth and subsequent concerts would take place in the Ball Room. This was a result of the city overflowing with visitors during the season: the *Bath Journal* recorded on January 10, 1779, that the "city was never more completely filled than it is at present. There were not less than eleven hundred people at the Upper Rooms Ball last Monday." Unfortunately, the repertoire of the concert was not published.

A similar plan was in place for the third season of concerts (1779–80), with ten concerts offered between November 10, 1779, and January 28, 1780. Both

the differential pricing scheme and cost of the subscription remained the same as the previous year. The advertisements in the *Bath Journal* November 8, 1779, however, converted this cost into pounds: "Gentlemen's subscription, 2£2s. Ladies, 1£1s."[27] The price for individual concerts remained as it had in the previous year. A gentlemen's non-subscription ticket cost 7s 6d, and a ladies' non-subscription ticket cost 5s. The soloists named in the advertisements were the same as in the previous year with the exception that Miss Madden replaced Maria Prudom as a vocal soloist.[28] Jane Guest was also included in the soloists, and was provided with a benefit evening on January 8, 1780.[29] Her performances on the fortepiano were still something of a novelty in 1780. She soon became very popular and was to remain one of Rauzzini's "star" soloists throughout much of his career in Bath. The same frictions that had marred the previous season of their concerts reemerged, with the managers of the Old Rooms complaining about losing business to the New Rooms. Other tensions colored the season as well. The country was involved in the American Revolutionary War, and the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War was poised to erupt on December 20, 1779. This created uncertainty in the country and some of the most prestigious potential visitors chose not to visit Bath, to the financial loss of the Bath inhabitants.

Even within this unsettled period, the concerts offered by La Motte and Rauzzini in their third season were dazzling affairs. Upward of forty musicians are recorded as taking part on any given occasion, although that number would include both soloists and the members of the orchestra. An eyewitness account can be found in Edmund Rack's journal for December 29, 1779:

> Had a ticket sent me for the concert this evening at the New Rooms. After reflecting on the matter coolly, went thither and found the most brilliant assembly my eyes ever beheld. The elegance of the room illuminated with 480 wax candles, the prismatic colours of the lustres, the blaze of jewels, & the inconceivable harmony of near 40 musicians, some of whom are the finest hands in Europe, added to the rich attire of about 800 gentlemen & ladies, was altogether a scene of which no person who never saw it can form any adequate idea. It began at half past 6 & ended at 10. The highest decorum was observ'd throughout the whole. The concertos by La Motte & Fischer surpass all description. On the violin & oboe they are not equall'd by any performer in Europe. They are both Italians—Rauzina [*sic*] is a eunich & has a fine shrill pipe, but I dont admire these shreds of men, shells of human beings. Near 60 of the nobility were present & several foreigners of distinction.[30]

Rack was a Quaker and thus may have questioned whether or not attending such an entertainment was appropriate. His reaction to hearing the castrato voice seems not uncommon in Britain for those who did not attend Italian opera in London regularly, and likely for more than a few men who did.

The 1779 newspaper advertisements for the series promised ten concerts to be given between November 10, 1779, and January 25, 1780. The repertoire

of the regular concerts was not published, but that for Miss Madden's benefit evening of January 21, 1780, is known. Madden was a society singer (reviews mention her being from a good family) although she must have been skilled. She appeared only in this season. At her benefit concert of January 21, 1780, she was joined by her sister, Lucretia. Remarkably, the *Bath Journal* promised four days earlier that Lucretia Madden would "take off Signiora Sestini, in the admirable Song of Si mio Ben, from the opera of Il Geloso Incemento [*sic*], accompanied by her sister on the Piano Forte." Whether or not Lucretia Madden was parodying Sestini or merely imitating her remains unverified. In either case, this performance appears incongruous in the context of Rauzzini's concert series. The repertoire of the concert follows:

Act 1: Stamitz: Overture; Song, "Gramachree Molly" (Miss Madden); Sacchini: Trio; Song (Rauzzini); Sacchini: Duetto (Madden & Rauzzini).
Act 2: Flute Concerto (De Camp); Song (Lucretia Madden); Sonata (Miss Madden); Song, "Sì mio ben" (L. Madden); Song (Rauzzini); Violin Concerto (La Motte); Song (Miss Madden).

Compared to the concerts that Rauzzini produced in subsequent decades, this benefit evening appears to have been shorter and lacking in symphonies and other purely orchestral pieces. The absence of any music by Haydn is particularly striking given the prevalence of that composer's music in later concert programs in Bath.

La Motte's playing may have surpassed all description, but his personal and financial problems plagued him during this season in Bath. He appears to have been constantly in debt and his health was poor. The last of the subscription concerts for that season in Bath was postponed twice (first to January 26 and then to January 28, 1780) because of his indisposition. Thereafter, La Motte left the city under a cloud. The exact nature of this "embarrassment" remains unknown, but it is not difficult to conjecture that it must have put Rauzzini in a difficult position as well. While the concerts appear to have been successful artistically, just how successful they were financially is open to question. Susan Burney records a conversation between Pacchierotti and Louisa Harris in her *Letter Journal* (January 19, [1780]) in which she recounts Pacchierotti's statement that he had been told by Rauzzini that "his Affairs went very badly at Bath."[31] After the conclusion of the Bath season the two men travelled back to London, where bad luck continued to plague them. Ultimately, La Motte left Britain for the Continent; the *Gentleman's Magazine* records that he died in The Hague on September 7, 1780.[32]

Music-making in Bath did not end once Rauzzini and La Motte returned to London. William Herschel's interest in astronomy may have begun to outweigh that in music at this point, but he continued to present concerts in Bath. During the period leading up to Easter, 1780, Herschel presented six performances of

oratorios at the Theater Royal, Bath, all by Handel: *Messiah* (February 16 and March 22), *Judas Maccabeus* (February 23), *Acis and Galatea* (March 1), *Samson* (March 8), and *Alexander's Feast* (March 15). These concerts appear to have been given on a large scale, and included the celebrated soprano Federika Weichsell, from London, as well as her daughter and son, who played the fortepiano and violin respectively. The daughter, Elizabeth, eventually became one of the most famous singers of her age, performing as Mrs. Billington. Unfortunately, reviews do not appear to have survived so there is little sense of how successful the concerts may have been. Herschel continued to present concerts in Bath and Bristol until 1782. By that time, however, he appears not to have given enough attention to the preparations for such large works; a performance of *Messiah* in Bristol in March of 1782 proved to be near disastrous.[33]

When Rauzzini returned to Bath in October 1780, it was to take charge of the concerts on his own. He adopted a similar plan to the series of the previous year with a program of ten concerts between November 1, 1780, and January 24, 1781. The *Bath Journal* reported on October 20, 1780, that Rauzzini invited the celebrated castrato Giusto Fernando Tenducci to sing as a principal soloist. Rauzzini also sang, as did Miss Pollone, and Giuseppe Puppo (1749–1827) is listed as the principal violinist. Presumably this was the same person who had played principal viola in the previous season and was now promoted to the more prestigious position of orchestral leader and violin soloist. Puppo was Italian-born and first appeared in London in 1777. He achieved initial success in the British Isles and, following concerts in Edinburgh in July 1782, it was reported in the *English Chronicle or Universal Evening Post* on August 1–3, 1782, that Puppo was "a second La Motte, both in ease and execution." Not all aspects of his career were consistently happy. Fétis writes of the "bizarrerie de son caractère" and explains how his erratic temperament ultimately led to an abrupt departure from London in 1784.[34] The violinist's performances during the 1780–81 Bath season appear not to have suffered from issues of temperament, perhaps because he was surrounded by colleagues of distinction. The performance of woodwind concertos also proved to be popular in the series. Fischer's oboe performances were much appreciated, while flute concertos were performed by [?George Lewis] De Camp. Although not mentioned in the initial advertisements, it is evident from the repertoire published for Fischer's benefit concert on December 20, 1780, that Jane Guest was also a performer in the series. Unfortunately, this benefit concert is the sole one for which the repertoire has survived. Only one composer was identified—Rauzzini:

Act 1: Overture; Song (Pollone); Flute Concerto (De Camp); Song (Tenducci); Duet (Tenducci & Rauzzini).
Act 2: Violin Concerto (Puppo); Song (Pollone); Piano Concerto (Guest); Song (?, accompanied by Fischer & Guest); Oboe Concerto (Fischer); Song (Tenducci); Rauzzini: March.

Concerts in Dublin, London and Regional Festivals (1778–80)

Prior to the second season of concerts in Bath, Rauzzini was engaged to sing at the Rotunda in Dublin. Brian Boydell notes that Redmond Simpson was instructed to sign contracts with La Motte and Rauzzini "at the smallest Salary . . . providing they can be here very early in the Season." Both men were allowed a benefit night, although Rauzzini's salary, following the traditions of the day, was higher than that of La Motte: £300 to £200 respectively. La Motte was hired to direct concerts and play concertos, replacing Thomas Pinto, who had declined to return to Dublin for the 1778 season. Unfortunately, the box office receipts were less than in any of the three previous seasons of concerts.[35] Not surprisingly, neither La Motte nor Rauzzini returned to Dublin.

Five concerts were planned in London between March 27 and May 1, 1778, with each concert being presented at 8:00 p.m. on Friday evenings in the Assembly Rooms in Hanover Square.[36] Rauzzini and La Motte aimed high with their concert series. The venue was the same as used for the Bach-Abel concerts, which attracted a socially prestigious audience. The price for Rauzzini–La Motte series was two guineas, a significant sum for the time, and no individual tickets were to be sold.[37] They may have experienced some problems with the distribution of tickets; their advertisements in the London newspapers on March 24 give detailed instructions for collection to those who had already signed up for tickets. Patrons were also reminded that the tickets for ladies were printed on green stock while those for the men were on red. This helped to prevent the transfer of tickets, although it would not have stopped it completely. It is significant to note that there were contrasting forces *against* such social controls in London where the high-end entertainments were concerned. In a move to make them more universally available, T. Hookham took out advertisements in the newspapers offering to "exchange" tickets for those with passes that they could not use on a specific occasion. In short, a single ticket might become available from the eighteenth-century version of the modern-day scalper.

The early advertisements list Sarah Harrop,[38] Carlo Rovedino, and Rauzzini as the vocalists, and La Motte, [?Ludwig August] LeBrun, and [James] Cervetto as the instrumental soloists.[39] After March 23, the newspapers gave fuller descriptions, adding the names of Clementin, Caravalie, and De Camp to the list of instrumentalists. The feature performers in the series were, of course, La Motte and Rauzzini, with other London-based performers such as Rovedino from the King's Theatre and Miss Harrop used in assisting roles. No reviews appear to have survived from these concerts, although there is no evidence to suggest that they were not a success. Unfortunately, one only work can be identified with certainty on the programs. Such was the success of Miss Harrop's performance of the aria "Dove sei amato ben" from Handel's *Rodelinda* that W. Randall published it "as sung with universal applause . . . at Rauzzini's and

Lamotte's Concert."[40] A new cantata from Rauzzini's pen was promised for the first concert of the new series; the same announcement was made for each of the following concerts. It is not known if Rauzzini was projected to sing the same work at each concert or a different piece.

The large number of concerts on offer in London at any given time meant that conflicting concert dates were bound to result. Although Rauzzini and La Motte stayed clear of the Bach-Abel series (using the same rooms, they had little choice), they faced stiff competition from a number of benefit concerts featuring the same type of entertainments. The very first date in the series of concerts conflicted with a benefit for Cramer at the Free Masons Hall. That on April 10, 1778, conflicted with a benefit for Gabriele Piozzi at the New Rooms, Tottenham Street. Rauzzini and La Motte's concerts had been announced to be given on successive Friday evenings: March 27, April 3, 10, and 24, and May 1, 1778. After the initial announcement was made, the concert of April 24 was changed to the previous day. This change was likely undertaken to accommodate a benefit concert for James Cervetto, directed by Bach and Abel, even though this was performed in the New Rooms at Tottenham Street and not in Hanover Square. Cervetto was a performer who had been announced from the outset by Rauzzini and La Motte and there was likely no desire to undercut his benefit night. Unfortunately, the new night for the Rauzzini–La Motte concert conflicted with the Support of Decayed Musicians concert held at the King's Theatre, an event likely to draw a significant crowd. For those who had bought the season pass for the five concerts, the various changes in dates likely proved an annoyance.

Rauzzini was extremely busy performing during this period in London. On April 9, 1778, he sang at a benefit concert for Miss Harrop at the Free Masons Hall. This concert was also a further opportunity to promote his compositions; the newspaper advertisements list that a symphony by Rauzzini was on the program. Given that La Motte also played a concerto, those who attended this concert and then the Rauzzini–La Motte series the next evening must have experienced a feeling of *déjà vu*. On April 27 a benefit was organized for Rauzzini's student Nancy Storace, at the New Rooms on Tottenham Street. She was preparing to leave for Italy to continue her studies in Naples, where her brother Stephen was a student at the San Onofrio Conservatory in Naples. The conservatory had also trained their father, Stefano Sorace, during his youth.[41] Nancy had become Rauzzini's pupil soon after he established himself at the King's Theatre. Her progress was swift; by 1777, she appeared in the Lenten oratorios at the Theater Royal, Covent Garden. As noted in chapter 3, that same year also saw her create the role of Cupido at the King's Theatre in Rauzzini's *Le ali d'Amore* and subsequently appear in concert with Rauzzini in Brighton. At the time of her farewell concert, she was not yet twelve years of age. Her send-off must have been a glittering affair since it featured Rauzzini, La Motte, Cervetto, and J. C. Fisher, with the whole under the direction of Antonio Sacchini. The advertisement printed in the *Gazetteer*

and New Daily Advertiser for April 27, 1778, provides some indication of the music to be performed:

For the benefit of Miss Storace
At the Ancient Music Concert Room in Tottenham St., Charlotte St.,
Rathbone Place
THIS DAY April 27 will be a
concert of vocal and instrumental
MUSIC

First Act

Overture	Rauzzini
Song: Sr Rovedino	Sacchini
Quartetto	Rauzzini
Song:	Rauzzini
Solo Violoncello—Mr. Cervetto	Rauzzini
Duetto: Miss Storace & Sr. Rauzzini	Sacchini

Second Act

Overture	Sacchini
Song: Miss Storace, accompanied on the violin by Mr. La Motte	Sacchini
Concerto: oboe, Mr. Fisher	
Song: Sr. Rauzzini	Rauzzini
Concerto: Violin solo, La Motte	
Terzetto: (Sr. Rovedino, Miss Storace, Sr. Rauzzini)	Sacchini

Under the direction of Signor Sacchini
To begin at exactly eight o'clock

. . . . . .

Miss Storace humbly solicits the favour of her friends on this occasion as she is going to Italy the ensuing summer for improvement.

While Rauzzini sang in this concert, he was more prominent as a composer, similar to Sacchini. Both men must have relished the prospect of having compositions in different genres performed under conditions over which they had control. An overture and a quartet by Rauzzini were promised for the evening. Rauzzini's op. 2 string quartets had just been announced for publication and it would seem likely that one of these pieces was performed.

While Rauzzini was absent from the 1778 Three Choirs Festival, he and La Motte both appeared at the festival subsequently held in Salisbury on September 16–18. Advertisements for the Salisbury Festival indicate that each of the evening concerts given in the Assembly Rooms would end with the celebrated operatic finale from Sacchini's *L'Amore soldato* which featured

six singers, four of whose names were given in the advertisements: Rauzzini, Norris, Cofre, and Goss. The opera was very recent, having been given its premiere at the King's Theatre on May 5 of that year. That it was already being performed (in part) in the summer festivals speaks to its success. The occasion appears to have delighted audiences since they had the opportunity to hear Italian opera, a rarity for those living outside of London.

The success of Rauzzini's and La Motte's London concerts in 1778 encouraged a longer series of eight concerts in 1779. Unfortunately, a gap in the Burney collection of newspapers for this period allows only seven of the dates to be reconstructed: March 19 and 26, April 9, 16, 23, and 30, and May 7 and 14. The price of the series this year was to be three guineas and, once again, the Assembly Rooms in Hanover Square were used. Rauzzini, Rovedino, and Sarah Harrop were announced as the vocal soloists. Sarah Harrop had quickly established herself as a singer of considerable popularity. John Marsh writes on April 29, 1779, that he had been charged by the directors of the Salisbury Music Festival to engage her as principal singer for the 1779 Festival, a position that had previously been held by Rauzzini. Such was her popularity, he was instructed to offer her Rauzzini's previous fee of sixty guineas and even increase it to seventy guineas if necessary.[42] This appears to indicate that Rauzzini's star had fallen rather considerably as a vocal soloist now that he no longer appeared regularly in opera.[43] Marsh further records that Rauzzini, Tenducci, and Miss Guest (all three musicians then being resident in Bath) agreed to perform at a benefit concert in Salisbury on November 11, 1781, for expenses "or at least on very moderate terms." The author states that "they no doubt agreed to [these terms] with a view to their having a preference at the next Music Festival."[44] Only a few years earlier, Rauzzini would not have had to make any such deal to appear as the principal singer at the Salisbury Festival.

The instrumental soloists scheduled for the 1779 London concerts were an illustrious lot, and included Fischer, Stamitz, Baumgarten, Cervetto, Decamp, Clementi, and, of course, La Motte. Two new cantatas were promised which featured the three singers. One cantata was to be composed by Rauzzini and the other by Sacchini, with both composers setting texts by Giuseppe Farronio. Rauzzini's cantata was called *La sorpresa*, and was a large-scale, multi-movement work of a dramatic character for three singers.[45] Unfortunately, nothing survives of Sacchini's cantata, either text or music. He likely did not compose it since the advertisements for the second concert of the series mention only Rauzzini's cantata.

La sorpresa

Farronio's text for Rauzzini was published in 1779 with its English translation on opposite pages, in the nature of an opera libretto. The music was not published, although Rauzzini returned to the cantata around 1805. The 1811

Christie's auction catalogue of Rauzzini's music library (lot 254) offered the full scores, performing parts and copyrights for the original 1779 composition and the subsequent revision. Unfortunately, full scores have not survived. It is possible that Rauzzini had completely recomposed his music since the auction catalogue states that the revision was "entirely reset in Score and in the Author's hand writing." The soloists in 1805 included Mrs. Billington, and Rauzzini may have revised the soprano part to fit her extended range and extraordinary virtuosity.[46] The same year *The Favorite Quick March in the Cantata La sorpresa* was published in a keyboard arrangement.[47]

Although the cantata was not staged, its detailed plot links it to the world of opera. Farronio's text is cast in five scenes with a setting "supposed to be in, and in the Environs of, a Town besieged by Aristeo." Almira (sung by Miss Harrop) is in love with Aristeo (sung by Rauzzini) thereby placing her in the age-old dilemma of being torn between love and duty. Rovedino sang the part of Eurante, Aristeo's enemy and a great warrior. Almira is revealed at the beginning lamenting that Aristeo has been gone for three years. In true operatic tones, she states that in "a moment [she] would end all [her] unhappy and barbarous sorrows."[48] In the next scene, Eurante attempts to continue his courting but is rebuffed by Almira and told by her to take a greater part in the defense of the city. Scene 3 introduces Aristeo in a long recitative in which he encourages his army to enter the city by force. Once Almira and Aristeo are reunited, Almira encourages Aristeo to leave the city with her and repair to a secluded place where they "may go and talk of love."[49] Aristeo refuses, saying that he has now taken control of the city. In the last scene, Eurante enters with his army, surprising the two lovers who are lost in their musings of "distant shades, on the river's banks" where Almira's "grief and sorrows" will be calmed. Aristeo is taken by force and is reminded by Eurante that "Fortune is not always propitious to warriors."[50]

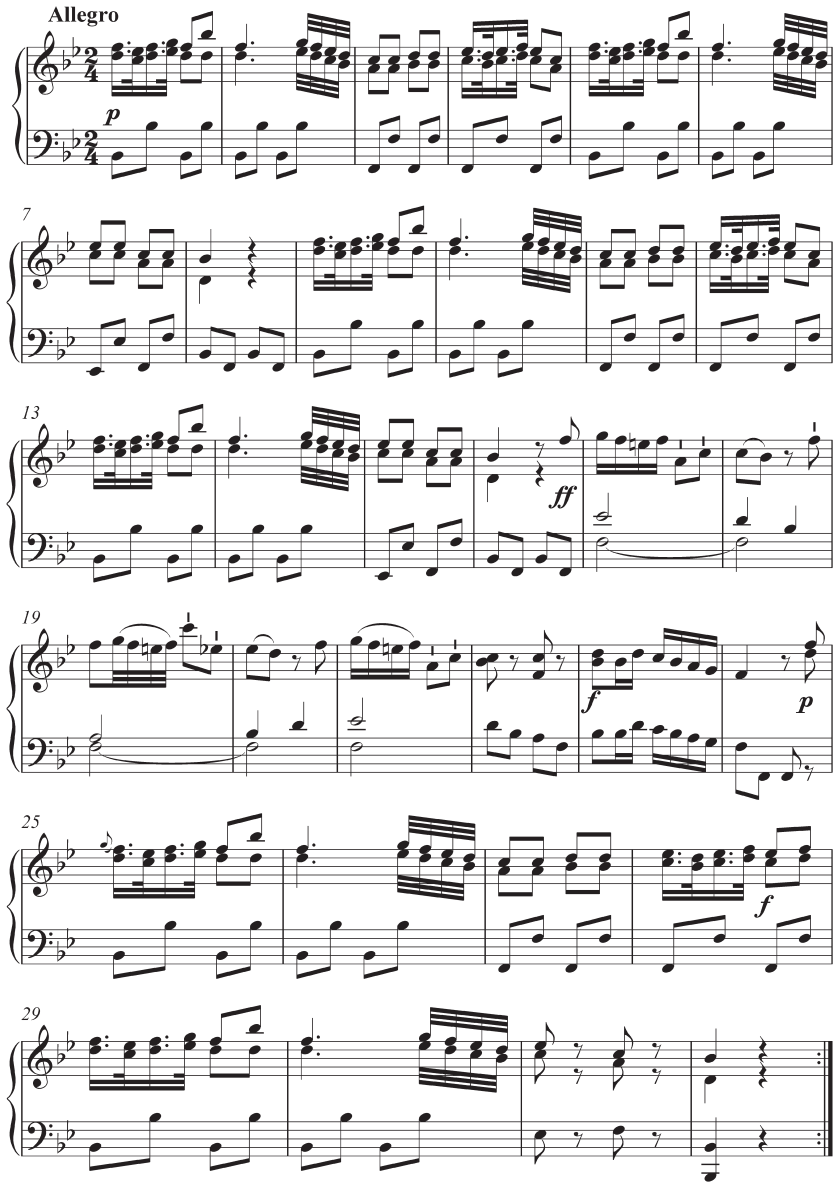
Farronio's text is not without its loose ends. It particularly lacks any explanation of how Aristeo, the leader of an invading army, came to know Almira in the first place. Presumably, Eurante had taken control of the city in Aristeo's absence and the latter is now attempting to regain his rightful place, but this is not explained in the text. The love triangle is handled well enough, but the ending is abrupt, with Rauzzini's character left defeated in a most unheroic fashion. Could the story have been continued in the text that was to have been set by Sacchini? This conjecture would appear to be logical within the confines of the planned concert series and would have permitted the character of Aristeo to be "reformed," or at least a scenario could have been developed allowing for a happier resolution to the love story.

Little of the cantata's music has survived. Two portions can be found in the library of the Royal College of Music in London, collected by James Windsor (1776–1853). Windsor was a well-known musician in Bath who served as the organist of the St. Margaret's Chapel there, ad Yo Tomita writes of his

longstanding interest in the music of Handel and J. S. Bach.[51] Windsor was also a close friend of Rauzzini. Just over a month before Rauzzini died, on April 8, 1810, he gave Windsor a published copy of Haydn's *Creation*.[52] The inscription on the inside cover of the score attests to the close friendship that existed between the two men and also gives credence to the validity of Windsor's copies. The two sections of music that were copied for Windsor are from the second version of the cantata, as Mrs. Billington's name is mentioned on each. The opening aria, "Affannosi miei pensieri," contains music of considerable difficulty. Scored for two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, and strings, the aria is cast as a large-scale ternary with the central section being marked as recitative. The tessitura is very high and the range is e′–d‴. The music is very Italianate in nature, with long coloratura passagework in triplets. If she was comfortable with this music, it demonstrates that Mrs. Billington must have reveled in a high tessitura.[53] Whether or not any of the 1779 music is retained in the setting cannot, however, be ascertained.[54] The Royal College of Music also owns a large-scale duet for Almire and Aristeo, "Troppo paventa e palpita."[55] The central section ("Fra l'ombre romite") is set as a triple-time Larghetto in E minor, thereby contrasting with the A major tonality of the opening and closing sections. The musical setting is complex and contains numerous contrapuntal entries as well as long-held notes in the vocal lines. The music is clearly from the 1805 setting: not only is Mrs. Billington named, but the part for Aristeo in written in a tenor clef for Jonathan Neild.

Rauzzini appears to have used the Quick March from the cantata as a separate entity in his concerts. In keyboard reduction, the music likely enjoyed considerable popularity given its melodic and rhythmic interest. Cast as a rondo, the music contains numerous contrasts but builds dramatically to the final repeat of the opening section (shown in ex. 4.1). The music would have been useful for bringing his concerts to a stirring conclusion.

Analysis of the printed libretto reveals much about the musical structure of the work as it was composed in 1779. Although cast as a succession of arias and recitatives, Rauzzini appears to have created much variety in the aria types. Miss Harrop was given two arias, "Affannosi miei pensieri" and "Si fa pallido il nocchiero," the first cast as either a *da capo* or ternary air and the second seemingly through-composed. Rovedino was given only one (through-composed) aria, "Benche io sia fra l'armi avverzzo," but likely had a dominant part in the concluding trio. Rauzzini gave himself only one aria ("Care luci innamorate," through-composed), but was also heard in the duet with Armira, "Troppo paventa e palpita," and in the concluding trio. Given that his character's appearance in the work was delayed until scene 3, it is likely that the long, martial recitative was carefully constructed to make the best possible impression on the audience. It is unfortunate that the music is lost since it would be instructive to see what kind of music Rauzzini composed for himself. Given the amount of text, it would appear that this cantata formed a significant part of the concert.

Example 4.1. Rauzzini, *The Favorite Quick March in the Cantata La sorpresa*, mm. 1–32.

A certain amount of rivalry appears to have emerged between the Rauzzini–La Motte concerts and those given by Bach and Abel. Such was the success of Miss Harrop that Bach and Abel persuaded her to appear in the 1779 season of their concerts. On October 20, 1779, Susan Burney writes:

> I ask'd [Pacchierotti] if Rauzzini w[oul]d continue his Concerts this Winter since Miss Harrop was engag'd at Bach's?—"Oh yes—there is another young lady, who now begins to sing—M^r^ Sacchini has given her Lessons now six or seven Months, & it is said she will sing better than Miss Harrop==Indeed? & is she to sing at Rauzzini's Concerts? ==Yes—but he will first *Expose her at Bath* . . . I saw him a few days ago, but he did not tell me this himself . . . I heard it *from other parts*.[56]

Gossip appears to have been rampant about musical rivalries in London, but Rauzzini was wise enough not to fan the flames by sharing the information with Pacchierotti. By the time of the London concerts, matters appear to have been settled with Miss Harrop; she is listed as the only female singer in the surviving newspaper advertisements for Rauzzini's 1779 concerts.

Susan Burney hints that Rauzzini's personal affairs were not in good order. This was based on a conversation with Pacchierotti, who had encouraged Rauzzini to return to Italy and resume his operatic career: "But he said to Me He had established here a Concert, & he must now endeavour to support it—but I am afraid indeed it will not answer—& I am very sorry, as he is indeed a very good natured young Man."[57] Lady Clarges spoke to Susan Burney in March 1780, saying that "Rauzzini was after Easter to have his Concerts for 5 Nights—"Pray" s[ai]d she, "if you know anybody [who] will subscribe think of me—for I shall take a Book of him—Poor little good natured thing—He goes about laughing everywhere, & he's got nothing to eat."[58] Ultimately more than the five concerts mentioned by Lady Clarges were given, and one hopes they benefited Rauzzini's financial situation. Comments elsewhere in Susan Burney's letters about Rauzzini going about town laughing lead to the conjecture that he was attempting to put a brave face on his troubles.

At the same time, the country was headed toward a political crisis that culminated in the Gordon Riots of 1780, in which, surprisingly, both Rauzzini and La Motte became involved. In 1778 Parliament passed the Papists Act, designed to eliminate some penalties imposed upon British Catholics. As a result, Catholics could refuse the religious oath when entering the British Armed Services. With Britain's military stretched to the breaking point because of the War of American Independence, it was hoped that the measure might encourage recruitment. The Act was opposed by Lord George Gordon, who became the President of the Protestant Association in 1780. Gordon organized a march on Parliament on June 2, 1780, in which over forty thousand people participated.[59] Unfortunately, this coincided with a grand benefit concert for La Motte at the King's Theatre.

On June 1, however, the London newspapers ran a notice that the concert was "unavoidably postponed" until June 9. The aftermath of having massed crowds marching on Parliament was hardly the best climate for an evening out at the King's Theatre. The delay of a week was significant, and the organizers then published the full program in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, June 7, 1780, likely to encourage people to attend:

> Part I: Overture, by Mr. Stamitz. Song, Signora Pozzi. Solo violin, Mr. Barthelemon. Song, Signor Tenducci. Concerto Violoncello, Mr. Cervetto. Duet, Signor Rauzzini, Signora Pozzi. Concerto Violin, Mr. Lamotte.
> Part II: Concert Oboe, Mr. Fischer. Song, Signora Bernasconi. Solo Violoncello, Mr. Crosdill. Song, Signor Pacchierotti. A Rondeau for five voices, composed for the occasion by Signor Rauzzini, and sung by Signori Pacchierotti, Tenducci, Rauzzini, Signora Pozzi and Signora Bernasconi. Concerto for two Violins, Mess. Cramer and Lamotte.

The aftermath of the Gordon Riots was considerable. On June 3, Newgate Prison and the notorious Clink (prison) were heavily damaged, as were Catholic churches attached to various embassies. The rioting continued and the army was called out on June 7, when 285 people were shot dead in the streets. It is hardly surprising that the few theaters in London which had opened played to very small audiences. A notice appeared in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on June 9, 1780, stating that La Motte's benefit concert was "postpon'd till some [time] next week." No reason was given for either postponement, although the events of the previous week would have provided ample cause. Understandably, people were afraid to leave their homes at night. Ultimately, La Motte's benefit never took place.

Remarkably, Rauzzini and La Motte entered into the Gordon riots on June 3 when mobs congregated in the area of Moorfields. Susan Burney reported to her sister, Frances, that she had been told by Lady Clarges that the singer and the violinist "had the hardiness to go into the City during the burning of the Chapel in Moor Fields, & that [Rauzzini] cried out '*No Popery by God'*—but I believe he only *puffs*—tho' tis a comical Speach enough for him to puff of."[60] La Motte and Rauzzini were not alone in chanting this phrase, for Frederick Reynolds claims to have seen "three or four hundred of these 'No Popery' ruffians commencing the destruction of a large house in Lincoln's Inn Fields."[61] Was this an act of bravado and folly on the part of the two musicians, or did they perhaps hope to gain support by renouncing their own Catholic upbringing? If the story is true, their actions were daring and not a little bit foolhardy.

It is from around this same time that conflicting reports of La Motte's imprisonment for debts emerge. Sainsbury writes that La Motte was only released from debtor's prison at the time of the Gordon Riots. Fétis's comment that La Motte had languished in prison for several years must be questioned.

La Motte was likely in debt, but if documents exist recording his imprisonment they have so far eluded detection. Similarly, no first-hand records survive that illuminate the nature of the working relationship between Rauzzini and La Motte, who returned to the Continent by late summer. With the Linley family no longer directing concerts in Bath and Herschel increasingly interested in astronomy, the path was clear for Rauzzini to become the sole director of the concert life of Bath. At the same time, Rauzzini also rekindled his connections with the King's Theatre with a series of Italian operas. The results of this association will be discussed in the next chapter.

A curious postscript to this season of London concerts reveals the ongoing problems at the King's Theatre. On March 31, 1780, the London newspapers ran the following notice to their advertisements for the King's Theatre: "Signor Pacchieroti being taken exceedingly ill with a violent fever, the Comic Opera of L'Amore Soldato will be performed to-morrow evening." This was followed with an announcement in the *Morning Post* on April 3:

> The managers of the Opera-house have entered into an engagement with Signor Rauzzini to sing there for the remainder of the season, in the room of Signor Pacchieroti, who is so much indisposed as to render it hardly probable that he will be able to perform again before the expiration of the winter. The first part in which Signor Rauzzini is to appear, is in Orpheo, in Bach's opera of that name.

The last statement is manifestly wrong, leading to the speculation that the entire announcement was either a ruse on the part of the management or a journalistic invention. There was an opera called *Orfeo* in the repertoire that season, but it was by Bertoni and not J. C. Bach. Even more significantly, Pacchierotti was back on stage singing by April 8, less than a week after his supposed withdrawal from the season. Although other sources remain mute on this episode, it is known that there had been growing tension between Pacchierotti and Richard Sheridan and Thomas Harris, co-managers of the King's Theatre, over the non-payment of his salary. Sheridan was in deep financial difficulty and had not paid salaries on schedule. Pacchierotti's speedy recovery invites the speculation that the notice was a warning to the singer that he could be replaced, if necessary.

Tensions continued to mount until matters came to a head during the Gordon Riots, when Pacchierotti threatened Sheridan with legal action if his salary was not paid. Matters between the two became particularly nasty and Pacchierotti even feared for his well being. Ultimately, Sheridan's answer was to extend the season in the hope that it would end with a profit.[62] One wonders what Rauzzini's role in the situation was. Had he entered into discussions with Sheridan in good faith only to discover that it was all a ruse, or was his name simply bandied about without his permission? In any case, Rauzzini and Pacchierotti appear to have remained on good terms, and continued to perform together in concert.

The Final London Concerts

With La Motte dead, Rauzzini appears to have found it difficult to finance a London concert series in 1781. The first newspaper notices were published on March 10, stating that Rauzzini would give a subscription series of five concerts starting on March 23 and continuing each Friday evening at Hanover Square, with the exception of April 20, which was to be a benefit for Jane Guest. The advertisements are small and give few details of the concerts, although more information was promised within a week. Once again the ticket subscriptions were to cost two guineas, but the individual tickets were now to be transferable from lady to lady or man to man. This appears to have been a ploy to make Rauzzini's concerts more attractive to the perspective audience. On March 26 notices appeared announcing that the series was delayed until March 30. These notices mention that the featured vocal performers were to be Tenducci, Ansani, Rauzzini, and Miss Abrams. The instrumental performers were to include Barthélemon, Puppo, LeBrun, Cervetto, and Miss Guest. Unfortunately, more delays in the concert schedule followed. The second concert took place on April 6, as scheduled, but the third was delayed until April 20. Miss Guest's benefit night did not occur until May 4. The fourth concert went ahead on April 27, but the fifth and final concert did not take place until May 17.[63] This must have created considerable confusion for the public, especially since the reporting of the dates for the concerts appears to have been somewhat erratic. One bright spot during this troubled time for Rauzzini appears to have been the successful revival of his *Piramo e Tisbe* at the King's Theatre.

Other problems manifested themselves for Rauzzini and his concert series. On March 29, the newspapers carried advertisements for the first concert to be held the next day, but with the following addition: "N.B. The tickets of Messrs. Piozzi and Sacchini's Concerts will be taken." This curious statement is explained in a complaint raised from an audience member and published in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on April 7, 1781:

> It is difficult to know who I am to address. It should be *Signior Rauzzini* as the Concert of the 30th of March, at Hanover-square, was advertised in *his* name. I went, as many did, to hear Mr. Puppo lead, Signor Rauzzini having engaged him; I was disappointed. Mr. Barthelemon led the band. I asked the case, and was informed that Signor Rauzzini had first engaged the upper rooms, and that Signors Sacchini and Piozzi afterwards engaged the lower rooms, both for the same night. To prevent confusion and disturbance, Signor Rauzzzini politely joined Signors Sacchini and Piozzi, whose tickets were to be admitted, as Singor Rauzzini's were to the upper rooms; but it was positively agreed to by Signors Sacchini and Piozzi, that Mr. Puppo should lead the band alternately with Mr. Barthelemon. Mr. Puppo was acquainted with this, and genteelly offered Mr. Barthelemon

> (who was engaged by Signors Sacchini and Piozzi) the first lead.—But Mr. Barthelemon insists on leading every night; and thereby not only excludes Mr. Puppo, but acts contrary to the wish and intention of the managers.—I would do justice to both. Mr. Puppo (almost a stranger here) should be entirely exculpated from every idea of inattention to the public. Mr. Barthelemon should be informed, that if he attempts to lead out of his turn, and any subscriber should rise to ask why Mr. Puppo does not appear, he may experience some feeling very opposite to those arising from the just applause hitherto given to his merits; for though it may be perfectly easy for him to abuse the politeness and good nature of his employers, it is very difficult to pacify that resentment which always attends public insults.
>
> X. Z.

The author of this curious complaint reveals much about the politics of concert managing. He strongly condemns François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741–1808), and it has to be wondered if the letter had been written on behalf of Giuseppe Puppo, the violinist who had performed for Rauzzini in the previous season of Bath concerts, but who did not yet have the prominence of Barthélemon. The latter had been a significant figure in the musical life of London since 1764. He was not only a noted soloist but a composer, whose works had been performed successfully in theaters and in concert societies. Of the two violinists, there is no question who had the greater profile in London or who had greater seniority.

Several questions remained unanswered. Why did Sacchini, Rauzzini's supposed friend, book concerts on the same days and at the same location (admittedly in the "lower" rooms) at Hanover Square when Rauzzini was presenting his series in the larger hall on the floor above? It must have been known that the disturbance created by having concerts performed at the same time would have been injurious to both. Was this a part of the beginnings of the great Rauzzini-Sacchini controversy that was to drive Sacchini out of the country in 1782? At the same time, the author of the letter contends that Barthélemon had been hired by Sacchini and Piozzi, while the early advertisements for Rauzzini's concerts list both Puppo and Barthélemon. No immediate answers appear to be forthcoming. It is possible that Rauzzini entered into this curious partnership with Sacchini and Piozzi in order to finance his series, and that the story about the subsequent double-booking of the Hanover Square Rooms was a ruse to cover up his financial embarrassment. The end result, however, was the frequent rescheduling and confusing in the actual concerts, thus resulting in a poor showing for the end of Rauzzini's impresario activities in London.

In addition to dealing with the various convolutions of his own concert series in London, Rauzzini was busy performing in other concerts. While it is possible that he simply needed to make money, it is equally likely that he wanted to keep his name before the public, both as a performer and a

composer. Unfortunately, the newspaper advertisements rarely list the music to be performed in these concerts, with the result that it cannot be stated for certain what, if any, of Rauzzini's own music was performed. That he was prepared to take on the task of arranging older music for concert use is revealed in the descriptions of the program for the benefit concert for Giovanni Ansani (1744–1826) given at the Pantheon Theater on May 7, 1781, under the direction of Johann Peter Salomon. The program was unusual in that, after the usual mixture of songs, concertos, and chamber music, the second act consisted of only a song performed by Mrs. Weichsel, an oboe concerto performed by Fischer, and a performance of a *Miserere* setting by Leonardo Leo.[64]

According to the newspaper advertisements, Leo's *Miserere* was not performed outside of the confines of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome and the Royal Chapel in Lisbon. Just which setting was performed on the occasion has not proved possible to identify. His most famous setting (1730) was composed for double choir and organ, but he also composed other settings of this text. Further complicating this issue, but perhaps explaining Rauzzini's presence in the concert, is a report found in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on January 14, 1782. At a concert in Bath given in January 1782, "the celebrated Miserere by Leonardo Leo formed the second part [of the concert], at least it was so advertised, although the *Miserere* is known to consist only of chant . . . Rauzzini has selected certain passages for Airs, which he has set most divinely, and the chorus is exceedingly grand." It would seem likely that Rauzzini's arrangement of music by Leo was also used at the concert in London, but that he was not given credit for his work. The presence of a choral work, and a liturgical work at that, was unusual for benefit concerts of this period, a point emphasized in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on May 3, 1781, which promised "more than forty of the most capital Voices in this kingdom." Ansani's contributions to his benefit concert consisted of a song at the opening, and participating in a trio composed by Paisiello with Signora Palone and Rauzzini.

On May 16, 1781, Rauzzini appeared at Hanover Square to take part in a benefit for the oboist Fischer, once again singing a terzetto with Tenducci and Ansani. That Rauzzini did not sing solo in any of these concerts raises several questions. While still a singer of ability, following his absence from the stage in London he was no longer a "star." Was his failure to sing as a soloist the result of a personal choice, or having been passed over in favor of bigger names? Since his music was being performed at these concerts, taking a step back from the performance spotlight put Rauzzini the composer in greater focus. At the same time, Rauzzini was soon to reenter the realms of operatic singing at the King's Theatre: that he did not take the opportunity to present himself as a solo singer is thus puzzling.

Elsewhere, however, his services as both a singer and composer were in demand. He had accepted the commission for a cantata, *Il tributo*, to be

given its premiere at Fonthill in Wiltshire, the home of William Beckford. The work had been commissioned to celebrate Beckford's twenty-first birthday on September 29, 1781. The *Royal Gazette* of Jamaica records the celebrations lasted for three days, with illuminations "in the most splendid manner" and extensive fireworks, at which more than ten thousand people were evidently in attendance. The celebrations were said to have cost £40,000, a large fortune at the time.[65] The concert given on Beckford's birthday appears to have been a grand event.[66] The cantata featured two great castrato singers of the period, Tenducci (in the role of Thirsis) and Pacchierotti (in the role of Philenus), as well as a chorus of shepherds. The text consisted of a dialogue between the two characters who praised Beckford as he achieved his majority. Beckford's father is eulogized as a "true Patriot" and the text goes to some lengths to state that the lavish celebrations are a show of true Britishness. Beckford's mother is described as having "the most rare and exalted Sentiments that can adorn the human Heart,"[67] and the young Beckford is described as having a noble soul. The text ends with the two singers joining in a duet:

> Come, fellow Swains, with jovial Dance and Glees,
> Come, and partake of this our Jubilee,
> In lasting Peace and Love, and heavenly HARMONY.[68]

The *Royal Gazette* of Jamaica mentions that a "charming Terzette, by Sig. Rauzzini, was also performed." This may have been Rauzzini's "Troppo parventa e palpita," a work that was also performed elsewhere, but it cannot be identified with certainty on this occasion. The three great castrati were engaged again that year for a party at Christmas at which time Beckford's imagination for decorating the house and having complex lighting designs created by Loutherbourg appears to have run riot.[69] The Beckford performances take on a considerable significance since these three great singers never performed together in this fashion at the King's Theatre or at the Bath concerts.

Rauzzini's Compositional Output until 1781

Between 1777 and 1786 Rauzzini published fifteen opus numbers. These were not his first publications, for he had already released some of his insertion operatic arias and the cantata adaptation of his opera, *Piramo e Tisbe*. The latter was a publication of thirty-seven pages brought out by R. Bremner in 1775, but without opus number. It would seem significant that in the year that Rauzzini left the King's Theatre he made a new start in other ways. He switched to a new publishing houses (that of John Welcker to begin with) and began to produce significant collections of chamber music with opus numbers. Included in this list are some examples of vocal music and one of his earlier operas; however,

many of the publications were of instrumental music.[70] The list of works up to and including 1781 follows:

Opus 1: *Six Favourite Sonatas for the Piano forte or Harpsichord, With an Accompaniment for a Violin.* London: John Welcker, 1777. Welcker's *Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music* (1777) lists the title as *Rauzzini's 6 favourite Lessons with a Violin Accom*pt. The set was reissued using the Welker plates by S. A.& P. Thompson around 1780 following the sale of the Welcker enterprise to James Blundell. The violin part is published on the same pages as the keyboard part. Sieber, in Paris, also released the sonatas with the violin parts printed separately.

Opus 2: *Six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor and Bass. Humbly Dedicated to His Grace the duke of Dorset . . . Opera II.* London: John Welcker, 1778 [Date verified in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, March 12, 1778.[71]] Welcker published these works in separate parts. The quartets were also released by Sieber in Paris. Three quartets (Nos. 1, 3, & 6) were published by Jean Andre in Offenbach sur le Mein (1781), where they are listed as op. 1.

Opus 3: *The Favorite songs, Rondeaus, DUETTS & CHORUS, in the OPERA LE ALI D'AMORE . . .* London: Welcker, 1778.[72]

Opus 4: *La Partenza, a Cantata Composed by Sig*r*: Venanzio Rauzzini and Sung by Him and Miss Storace at the Opera House.* London Welcker, [1778]. Published in full score.

Opus 5: *Twelve Italian duettinos, for two voices with a thorough bass . . .* London: Welcker, 1778.

Opus 6: *Six Quartettos for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Bass . . . Opera VI.* London: John Welcker. Published in separate parts. The publication was announced on January 21, 1781, in the London newspapers.

Opus 7: *A Second Set of Six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor and Bass.* London: John Welcker, [1780?]. Welcker's *A Catalogue of Vocal & Instrumental Music* (1780) mentions both sets of quartets by Rauzzini, but does not indicate that the op. 7 set was new.[73]

Opus 8: *Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or harpsichord with an Accompanyment for a Violin.* London: Welcker, [1781.] These sonatas were also published in Paris by de Roullède and de la Chevardière and in Lyon by Castaud.

Opus 9: *Six Favorite Italian Canzonets, with an Accompanyment for the Piano-forte.* London: J. Blundell, [1781].

Opus 10: ?

Opus 11: ?

Two of the opus numbers appear to be lost. Up to 1781, Rauzzini's output in the area of large-scale collections includes four publications of vocal works

and five of instrumental works. The variety and scope of the latter works, including strings quartets, keyboard music with violin accompaniment, and piano quartets, may be surprising for a musician associated with opera until 1777. The publication of excerpts from *Le ali d'Amore* and the cantata *La partenza* appear to be prestige publications, hence their being given opus numbers. The earlier publication of *Piramo et Tisbe* had likely been meant not only to capitalize upon its great success at the King's Theatre but also to make the work available for performance in regional centers and at the Three Choirs Festivals. Similarly, the publication of *La partenza*, the farewell cantata sung by Rauzzini and Nancy Storace at Rauzzini's final performance during the 1776–77 season at the King's Theatre, may have had utility outside of London, though the same probably could not be said for the excerpts from *Le ali d'Amore*. Presumably, the latter publication was meant to be a memento of an opera that had earned significant critical and audience success at the King's Theatre. The publisher's selling price of 10s 6d (the same price as the op. 1 and 2 publications) was likely meant to encourage people to purchase the score for occasional home use.

Instrumental Music

If Rauzzini was to become known as a "serious composer" in the accepted sense, as opposed to a dilettante or a performer who wrote only for his own instrument, it was important that he compose in a variety of genres. While the publication of arias from *pasticcio* operas was important, he would need to address a larger public to ensure his future success. Judging the needs and interest of this larger public would be crucial. Rauzzini never had a regular patron like the Esterházy family, who employed Haydn and gave him great latitude in terms of what he composed and in which musical styles. Rauzzini's position was closer to that which Mozart found himself in Vienna, where he attempted to appeal to a broader range of the concertgoing public whose tastes were varied and not always the most elevated. Without trying to make a case for Rauzzini as a composer of equal stature to Haydn and Mozart, it is necessary to point out the differences in their respective circumstances. Seemingly, nothing was ever too long or complicated for Haydn's prince. Haydn essentially had an audience of one person to please and a regular salary on which to count. Mozart avoided such full-time patronage in his early days in Vienna, only to rue his decision when his music no longer tickled the ears of the fickle Viennese public. Rauzzini appears to have judged his audience wisely, and the music he composed was neither too long nor too difficult for amateur performers.

There are surprisingly few dedications in the publications to members of the aristocracy. Were aristocrats afraid of seeing their names on the publication of music by a castrato, or did Rauzzini simply not actively search for such

patronage? He appears to have decided early on that his music largely would be for domestic consumption—the eighteenth-century version of salon music—but at a high level of accomplishment. It would seem that this is the audience for whom Welcker, the publisher, would have wanted Rauzzini to compose, and who were likely to purchase the printed scores. Many of this same group might have also attended Rauzzini's London concerts.[74] After Rauzzini left the world of opera in 1777, he was dependent upon ticket sales to his concert series for a large part of his income. He continued to sing in concerts thereafter, but with the law of diminishing returns taking its toll on his ability to secure income from this activity.[75] The publication of his music helped to keep his name before the public.

Keyboard Sonatas Opus 1 (1777)

Rauzzini's "official" op. 1 was a set of six keyboard sonatas with "with an accompaniment for a violin." This publication likely represents a conscious decision on Rauzzini's part to construct a new public image. Just when these works were composed, however, is open to speculation. Burney commented favorably upon Rauzzini's keyboard works that he had heard during his trip to Germany in 1772, and it is possible that some of the pieces in this collection originate from that period. The collection consists of six sonatas, in the major keys of C, B, G, A, D, and F. With the exception of the key of B, these might be considered to be "easier" keys. The six works are not sonatas for solo keyboard or, for the most part, sonatas for violin and keyboard accompaniment, but represent a performing tradition of having keyboard works with an obbligato violin part that could either be played or omitted as the occasion dictated. If no violinist was available, it was possible to perform only the keyboard part with musical integrity, although incorporating some of the violin music into a keyboard performance would be beneficial. From a modern perspective, it is fortunate that the violin and keyboard parts are printed on the same page, as separate violin parts were easily lost. Rauzzini's violin parts are not difficult or high; more experienced players could easily have embellished their part, adding double stops and transposing some sections up an octave. Both the fortepiano and the harpsichord are mentioned on the title page, an advertising ploy to make the publication as inclusive as possible. Dynamic contrasts are indicated occasionally in the keyboard parts (sometimes changing from *piano* to *fortissimo*, something that would not have been possible with the harpsichord), while others in the set have no dynamic indications of any kind. This may be an indication that the set was composed over a period of years.

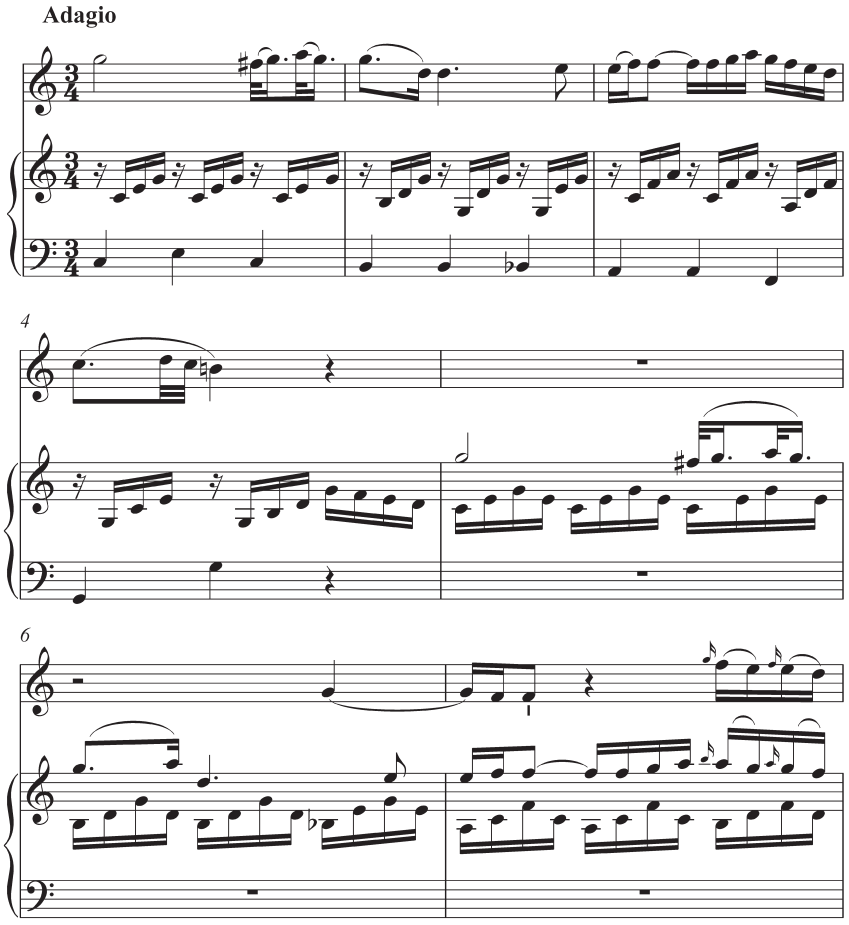
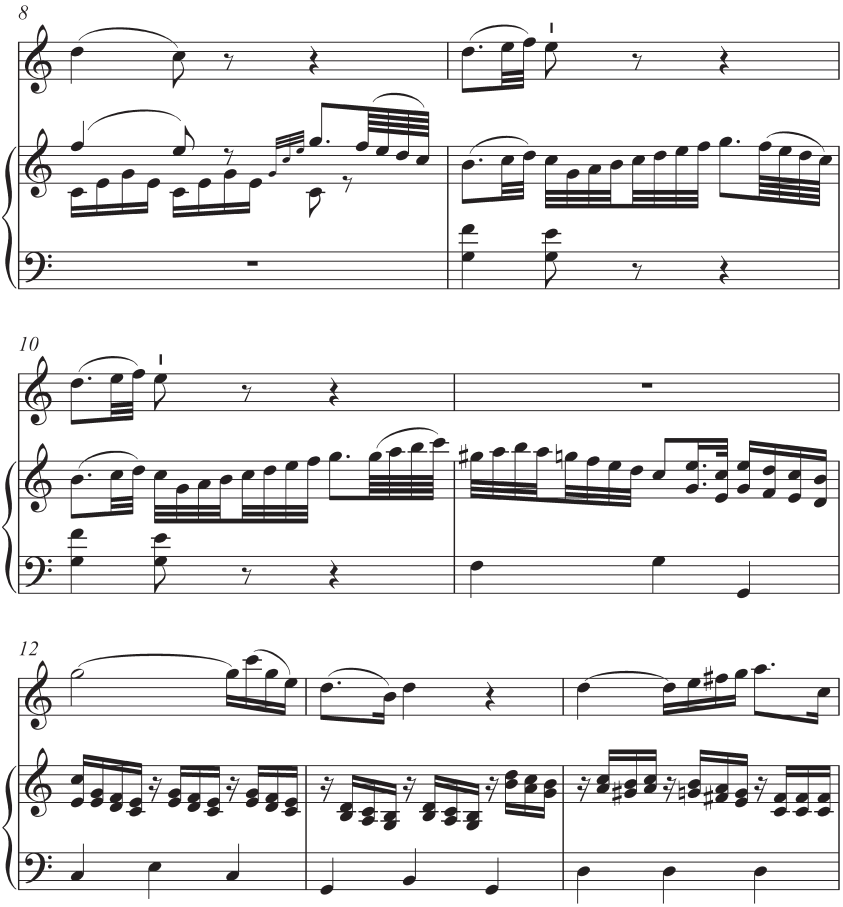
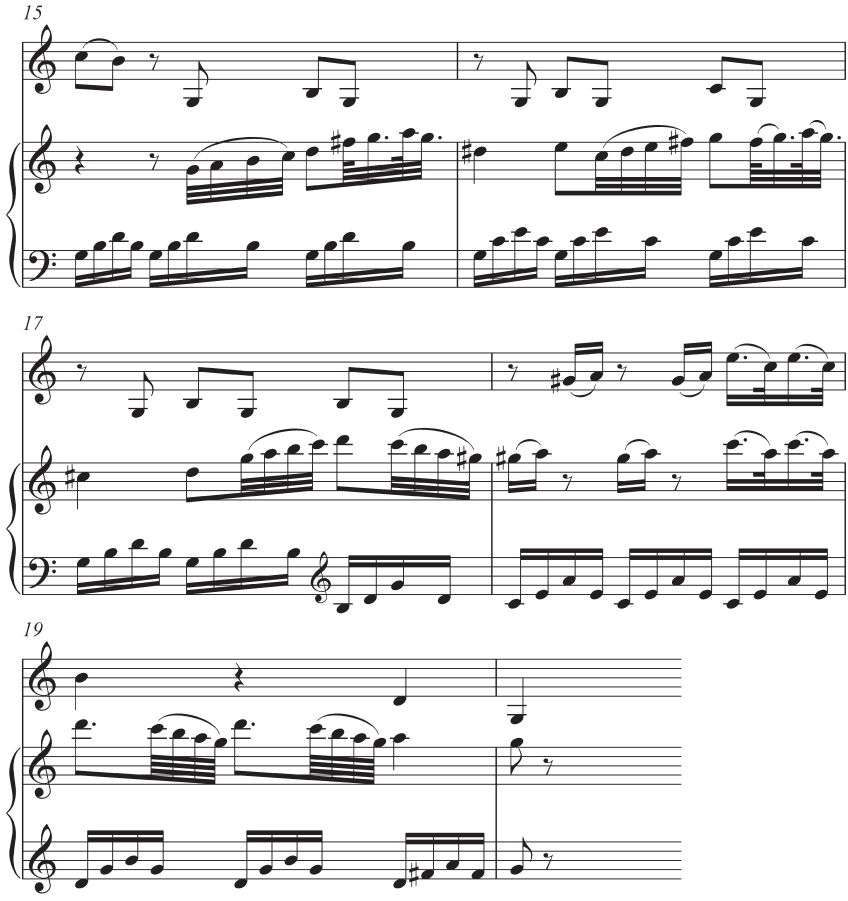
All of the sonatas but the final one consist of two movements: an opening Allegro with binary repeats followed by a *rondeau*, presto or minuet. Textures tend to be thin in the keyboard writing, often in two parts, or a single melody

in the right hand and bare octaves in the left. While there are examples of *galant* style writing in these sonatas that are designed more to charm than stimulate intellectually (especially in the closing movements), there are also elements that reflect the expressive style of North Germany. That there should be a variety of stylistic influences in Rauzzini's music should not surprise—he was Italian-born and lived and worked in Vienna and Munich for several years. Whether he knew much music by Haydn during his days in Vienna remains open to speculation; however, the music of Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–77), Leopold Hoffmann (1738–93), Johann Baptist Vaňhal (1739–1813), and others would have been available to him. Rauzzini's well-developed harmonic sense and his skill with sonata form not only reveal his early training but also his ability to absorb influences as he moved from Italy to the German-speaking world.

Rauzzini makes use of the polythematic binary form for the first movements of sonatas one through five. In each, there is a recognizable second theme which is used to initiate the recapitulation, while any repeat of the first theme is usually restricted to the central section of the movement after the initial repeat sign.[76] This was Stamitz's favorite approach to sonata form in the 1740s and 1750s.[77] By the 1770s, the approach was less popular as the fully recapitulatory design was gaining in popularity with a younger generation of composers. The first movement of the final sonata (in F major) represents something of a departure in the treatment of sonata form. After the first theme in the tonic is announced, the music quickly moves to the dominant by measure 20, at which time a new theme is given. The harmonies become unsettled by measure 32 and the music that follows appears to be developmental. The binary repeats do not occur until measure 68, when the opening theme appears in the dominant. This is followed by a twelve-measure chromatic passage which appears to be returning to the original tonic (by means of a G major dominant preparation) when the music suddenly stops and the Adagio follows. The overall tonality of this central Adagio is C, but the use of secondary dominants and other chromatic alterations gives the music much richness. The music again begins as a polythematic binary form but, after an extended second section, the music suddenly returns to the F major of the opening movement.[78] The opening section of the central movement of Rauzzini's sonata is found in example 4.2; it appears possible that its more advanced style may be a result of its being a later composition.

String Quartets, Opus 2 (1778)

Having published keyboard sonatas with violin "accompaniment," Rauzzini next released six string quartets in separate parts as his op. 2. This may have been a calculated move to establish himself as a serious composer. This publication contains a rare dedication, to the Duke of Dorset. Each quartet is in

Example 4.2. Rauzzini, Sonata in F, op. 1 no. 6, second movement, mm. 1–21.

Example 4.2.—*(continued)*

Example 4.2.—*(concluded)*

three movements, although Rauzzini does not adopt a consistent format of movement types or tempi.

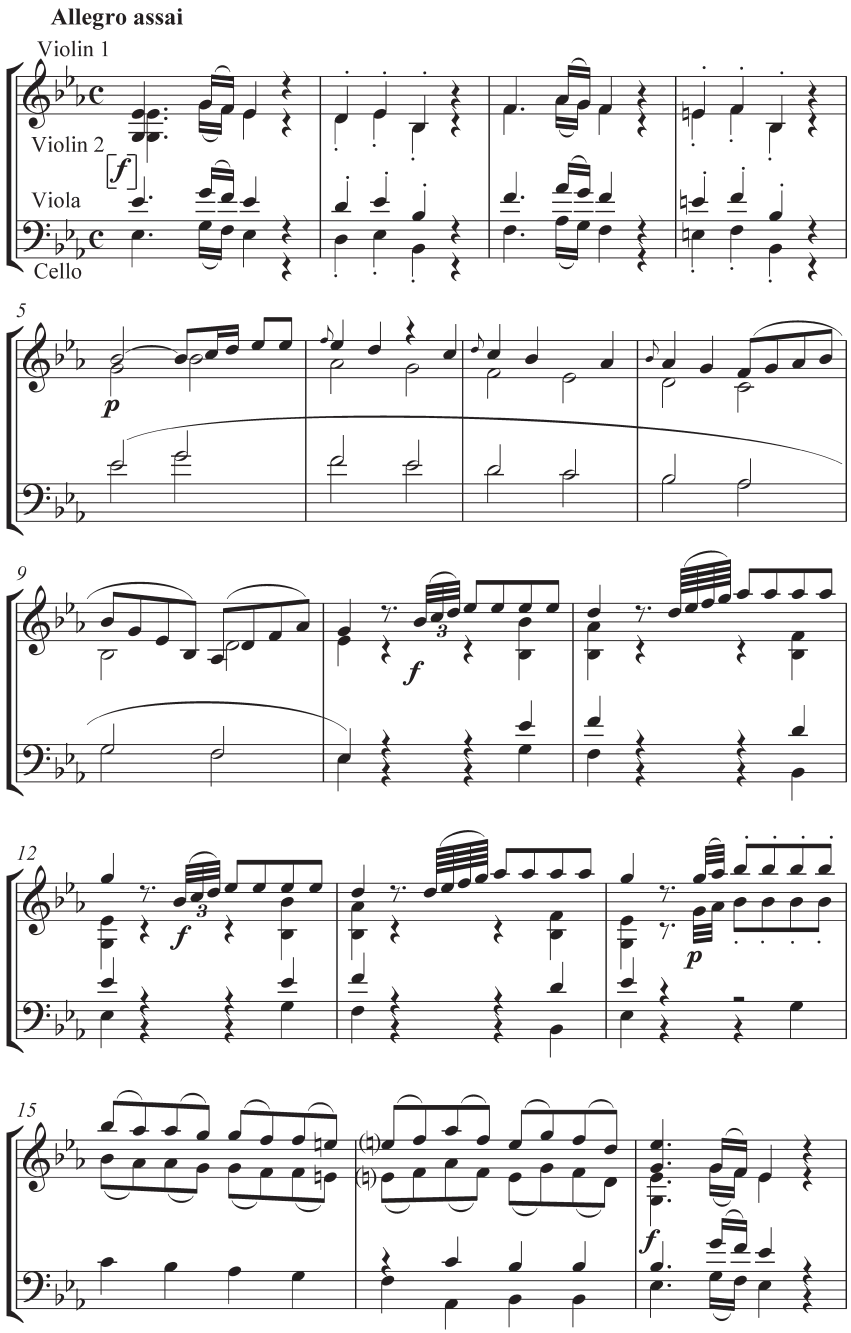
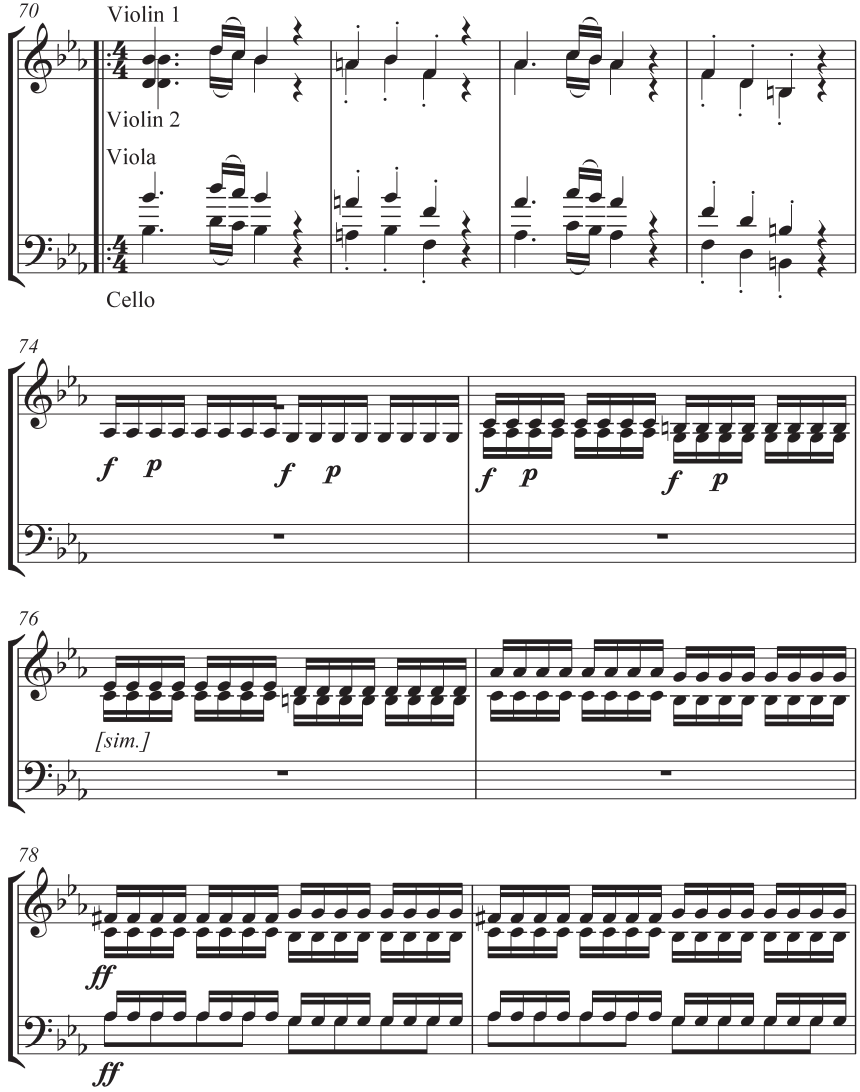
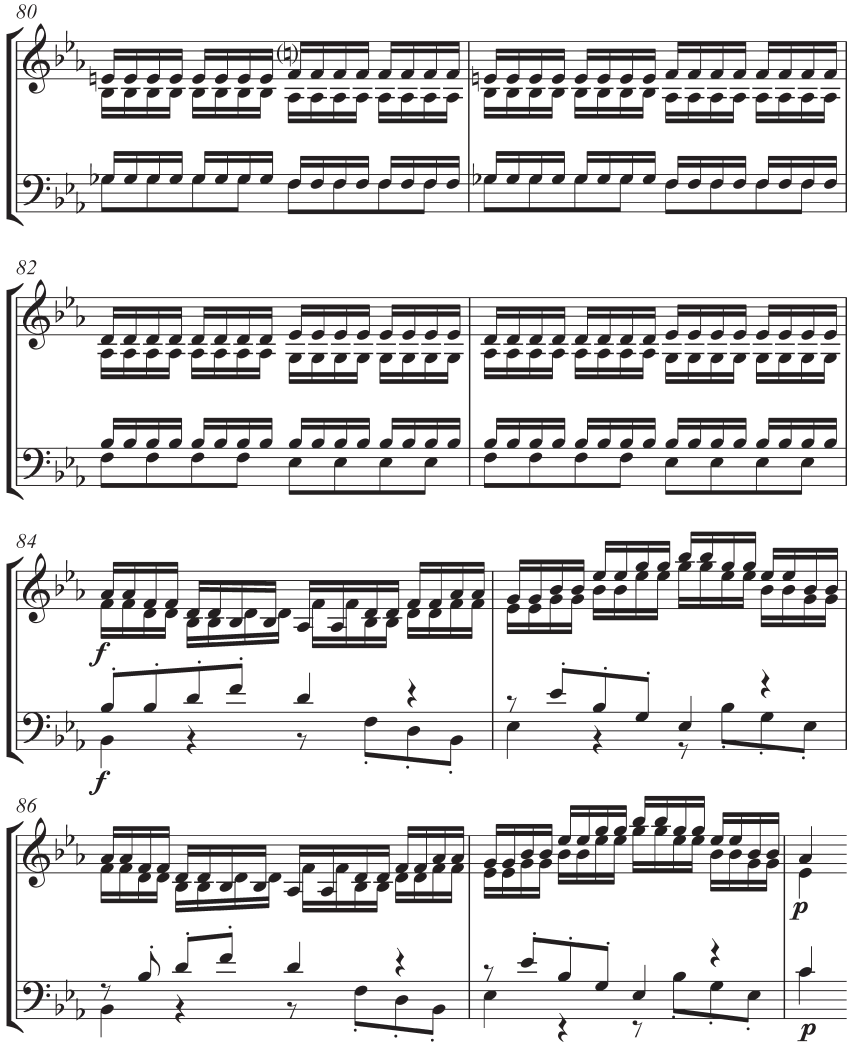
Quartet no. 1 in E flat: Allegro assai, Andante, Tempo di Minuetto
Quartet no. 2 in B flat: Allegro, Largo, Allegro
Quartet no. 3 in E: Allegro, Larghetto, Menuetto & Trio
Quartet no. 4 in A: Allegretto, Andante, Allegro
Quartet no. 5 in D: Allegro, Cantabile, Rondo Allegretto
Quartet no. 6 in C: Allegro, Adagio, Tempo di Menuetto

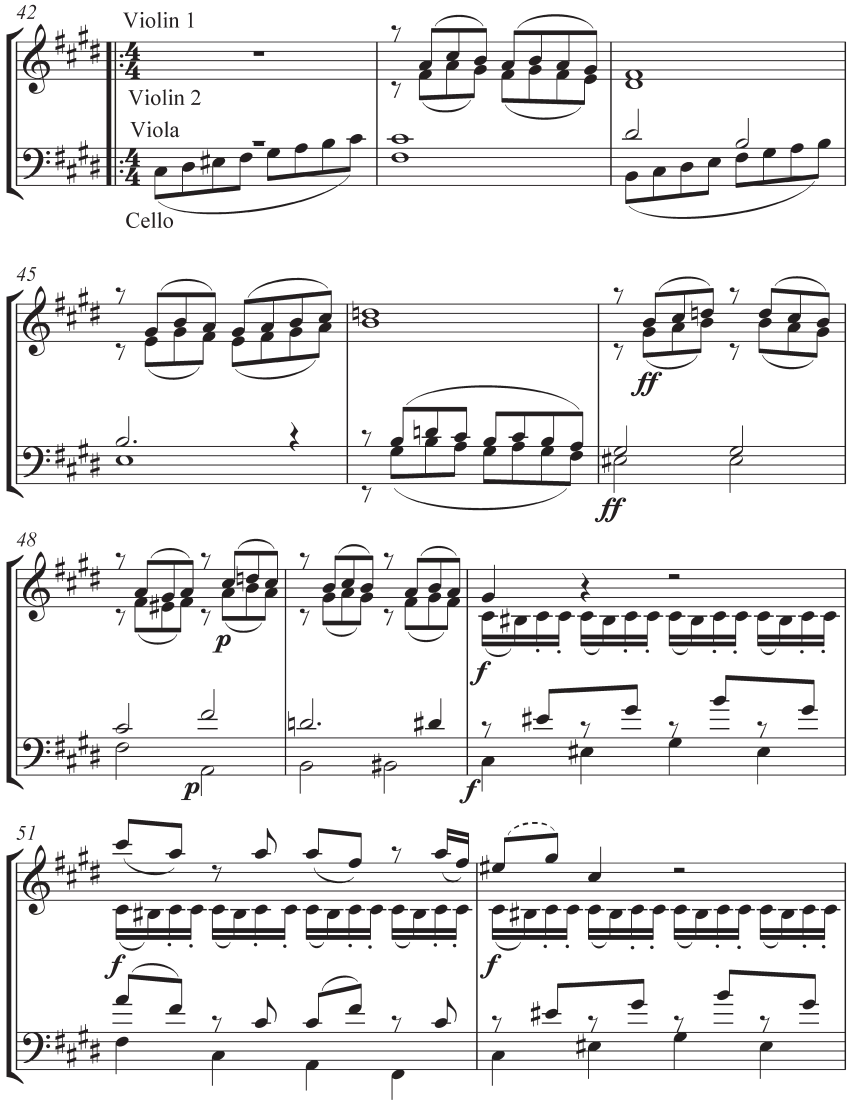
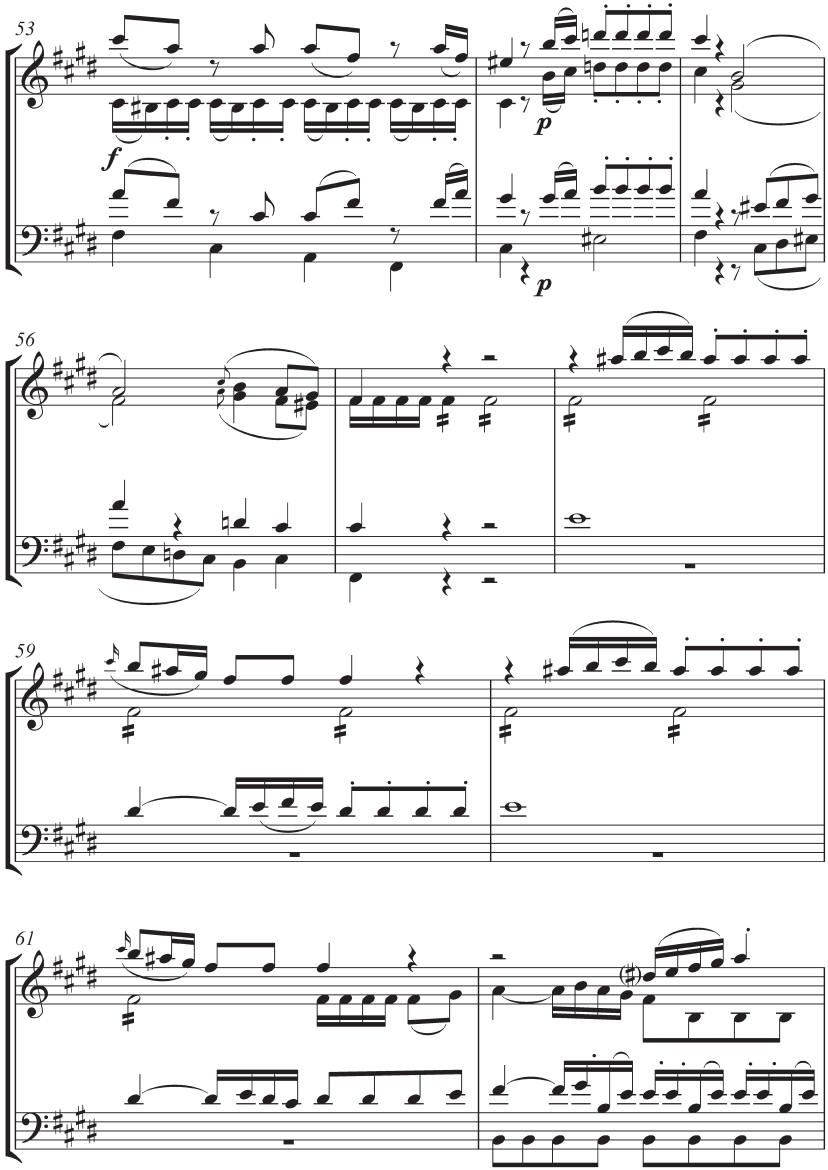
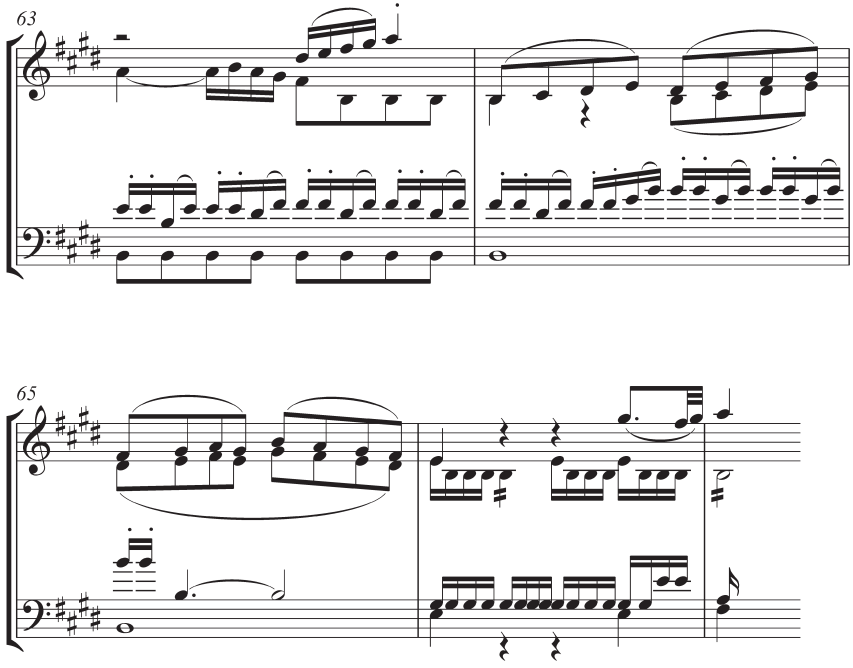
The string quartet genre played well to Rauzzini's strengths as a composer. He was not limited in his creative fancies by a text and he could explore chromatic

harmonies and harmonic progressions that might have been difficult in text-driven music. He also explored dynamic contrasts to a greater degree than is found in his keyboard sonatas from the same period. The first quartet of the set opens with a first subject of near-Beethovenian intensity (its opening measures are shown in ex. 4.3).[79] This motive serves to influence much of the movement that follows, as it is recalled both during the transition to the dominant and again once the dominant key is confirmed. The second theme is no more than a motive that is treated antiphonally. These four measures offer but a brief moment of repose before the first subject returns accompanied by passage-work of much rhythmic intensity. The first subject also announces the development section but the music quickly turns to a section of high drama that is not thematically based. This is operatic music reduced to chamber music proportions: indeed, the figuration in the quartet is reminiscent of the 'symphony' that Rauzzini composed to accompany the lion tearing Tisbe's veil to shreds in act 2 of *Piramo e Tisbe*.

There is greater variety in Rauzzini's approach to formal construction in these quartets than in his op. 1 sonatas. While several of the opening movements are constructed in polythematic binary form, the first and third quartets open with a fully recapitulatory movement. Elsewhere, the composer is more flexible in his proportioning of the various sections of sonata form than in his op. 1 sonatas. The quartets demonstrate an emphasis on musical contrasts through the use of a multiplicity of musical ideas that can look episodic on paper, but which work well in performance because of Rauzzini's firm control over form.

Johannes Reindl writes at length about a similarity between a phrase (measures 36–43) in the first movement of the fourth quartet in A major (not the fifth quartet, as stated) and the opening of the refrain of "God save the King."[80] Not only are the rhythms different, however, but the music, when heard in context of what happens immediately before, does not make any such connection aurally apparent. Although opera may be an influence in some of this music, the primary influence would seem to be German, especially the North German School, and C. P. E. Bach. This is revealed in Rauzzini's use of rapidly shifting moods and daring shifts of motives. Rauzzini was also not above recycling some material on occasion. The third quartet in this opus group begins as a transcription of the opening measures of the orchestral accompaniment for the aria "Pur ti reveggo al fine!" from *Piramo e Tisbe*. Thereafter, the music becomes newly composed, but given how popular *Piramo e Tisbe* was, it is likely that the quotation would have been recognized by some. Although the influence of Haydn is not as evident as it is in the later op. 7 series, one still finds examples of motivic development and a musical discourse readily identifiable with the emerging first Viennese School. Example 4.5 presents the development and re-transition sections of the third quartet, in E major.

Example 4.3. Rauzzini, String Quartet in E flat, op. 2, no. 1, mm. 1–17.

Example 4.4. Rauzzini, String Quartet in E flat, op. 2, no. 1, mm. 70–88.

Example 4.4.—*(concluded)*

The level of performance difficulty varies throughout the set. As might be expected, the writing for the first violin requires the greatest command over the higher registers, although this can vary from one quartet to the next. The first and fifth quartets require considerable skill from all four players to make a performance successful. Even in those quartets that do not demand great technical abilities, there is much that would tax amateur performers. Rauzzini's penchant for writing figures in small, often dotted, note values can present

Example 4.5. Rauzzini, String Quartet in E, op. 2, no. 3, mm. 42–67.

Example 4.5.—*(continued)*

Example 4.5.—*(concluded)*

challenges. Furthermore, he places demands on the performers for a variety of articulations that would have required amateur players to rehearse this music very carefully to perform it well. At the same time, Rauzzini's music represents an admirable balancing act between challenging the players and providing audience enjoyment. This is music of elegance and taste which likely delighted audiences in the 1770s.

Six Quartettos for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, Opus 6 (1780)

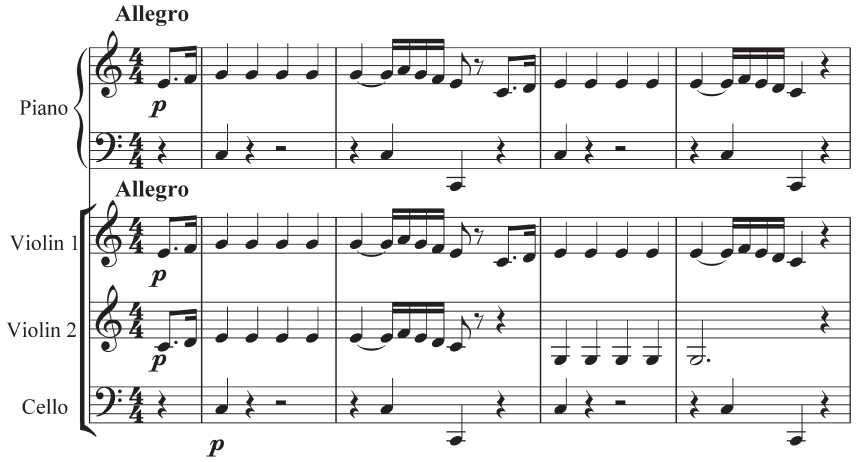
Although called *Quartettos for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Bass*, these works are constructed on ritornello designs as found in concertos. Presumably calling them quartets did not impose perceived limitations on sales, as they were likely most often performed as chamber music. Once again, the harpsichord is listed on the title page, but the presence of dynamic indications, including crescendi, clearly point to the fortepiano. The similarities between J. C. Bach's op. 7 keyboard concertos (1770) and those of his op. 13 concertos (1777) to these works by Rauzzini are quite striking in terms of their exploration of the *galant* idiom and treatment of form. Rauzzini is perhaps a bit less adventurous than Bach in the latter's op. 13

set in that he restricts his accompaniment to violins and cellos so that the keyboard is not overshadowed. That said, even Bach marks the parts for oboes and horns as optional in his 1777 concertos. Rauzzini's set was published as separate parts thereby making performance a practical reality in both concert and domestic settings. The string writing would not have caused amateur players undue stress as the higher positions were only occasionally explored. There is more doubling of the keyboard part by the first violin than is perhaps ideal, yet Rauzzini manages to contrast textures and moods within the prevailing rococo style. His growing confidence in creating large-scale forms can be seen in the expanded proportions of the movements, as well as in the variety of tempo patterns found in the set as a whole:

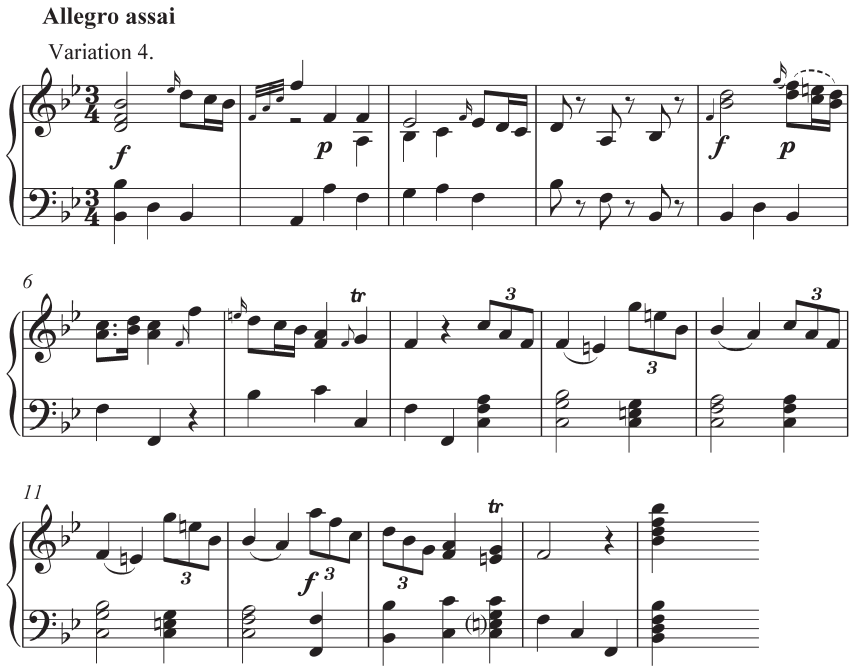
Quartetto no. 1 in C: Allegro; Rondo (Tempo di Minuetto)
Quartetto no. 2 in B flat: Larghetto *con espressione*; Allegro assai; Minuet & 4 variations
Quartetto no. 3 in G: Allegro; unidentified dance movement
Quartetto no. 4 in A: Andante con moto; Tempo di minuetto
Quartetto no. 5 in D: Allegro con spirito; Rondeau andante
Quartetto no. 6 in E flat: Allegro spiritoso; Allegretto

The Allegro movements are cast within a ritornello framework but are influenced by polythematic sonata form so that the development sections open with the opening theme in the dominant key. These sections are more extended and exploratory in nature than are the analogous sections in Rauzzini's op. 1 keyboard sonatas. His developed harmonic sense is revealed in these sections, and there is a more effective use of sequence in these works than in the earlier sonatas. Rauzzini is very successful in creating attractive music that has a strong sense of forward motion. Because of the ritornello design underlining the concertos there are fewer binary repeat signs, although they are not abandoned completely. It is not hard to imagine that amateurs would have found these works to be entirely enjoyable. The opening of the Quartetto no. 1 reveals Rauzzzini's use of a favorite first subject, which can also be found in works such as *La partenza* and the third canzona of op. 9.

Throughout, the keyboard part bears the greatest share of the musical argument, with the strings being supportive in nature. Here, Rauzzini appears somewhat limited by the nature of amateur players. On occasion, the two violin parts are written between the pitches of the bass and treble lines of the keyboard part, thereby permitting the top register of the keyboard to stand in greater relief. The cello most often doubles the left hand of the keyboard part, although Rauzzini does vary this texture on occasion. The third quartet has some passages in the final movement where the violin part is an octave higher than the right hand of the keyboard part and, elsewhere, the first violin plays pedal notes in a higher register. From a modern perspective, one might wish

Example 4.6. Rauzzini, Quartetto in C, op. 6, no.1, mm. 1–4.

for more of these passages; however, Rauzzini's reticence likely stems from a desire not to intimidate amateur performers and the need to preserve a sense of balance with the softer tone of the fortepiano of the period. In contrast to Rauzzini's op. 2 string quartets, the musical style of these piano quartets remains largely anchored in the *galant* style, although operatic drama is also revealed in some passages.

The second quartet is the only one of the six that has three movements. Rauzzini's order of the movements is somewhat unusual in that the *Larghetto con espressione* movement comes first, followed by the lengthy *Allegro assai.* This concerto is far more challenging on the keyboard performer than is the first in the series, as it demands extended passages in thirds in the right hand and other difficult figurations. It would have taxed many amateur players when played up to speed. The thematic materials may not be as memorable as in the first quartet; however, the composer's ability to develop his ideas and to explore rich harmonies still results in a satisfying work. The final movement is a set of four variations on a minuet tune. Rauzzini adds many popular "Scottish grace notes," some an octave away from the note to which they are attached. This appears to invoke the use of such grace notes in bagpipe playing, and give the courtly minuet a rustic charm. The variations that follow are much concerned with bravura display. The piano part for the final variation is found in example 4.7. As attractive as these works are, it is not surprising that they disappeared from sight later in the century. The thinness of the textures, especially in the keyboard writing, and the restrictive nature of some of the string writing makes them pale in comparison with the works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert.

Example 4.7. Rauzzini, Quartetto in B flat, op. 6, no. 2, variation 4, mm. 1–14.

A footnote to the discussion of Rauzzini's op. 6 is to be found in his last instrumental music to be published, the *Six Favourite Sonatas*, from 1799.[81] These sonatas were not new music but merely the keyboard parts of Rauzzini's op. 6 keyboard quartets. This curious publication makes no mention of this fact, or that the music originally had string accompaniments. This publication as "solo sonatas" was made possible because the keyboard part doubles the string parts in the tutti sections. Structurally, however, the ritornello structures of the first movements sound repetitious without the string passages. Some changes were introduced into the 1799 publication: in places, mistaken accidentals have been corrected and there are differences in expression, dynamic indications, and the use of staccato markings. As might be expected, the solo and tutti signs have also been removed. Yet in other places many necessary accidentals remain absent, resulting in harsh discords in the final pages of the second movement of the fifth sonata. Since no attempt was made to integrate the string parts into these arrangements, there are passages that appear empty and lacking any relationship to what has gone on before. Furthermore, Rauzzini's keyboard writing, which may have already seemed somewhat thin in 1780, was likely viewed as antique in 1799. One wonders if Rauzzini had anything to do with this publication. If so, it is unfortunate that he did not take the time to rewrite the music and enrich the textures.

Six String Quartets, Opus 7 (1780)

The op. 7 string quartets were published by Welcker in London around 1780. Compared with Rauzzini's earlier string quartets, far fewer copies of this set have survived, possibly because it appears not to have been released on the Continent by other publishers. Indeed, the existence of these quartets was not known to Johannes Reindl when he undertook his survey of Rauzzini's instrumental music in 1961. Only two years separate the publication of these six string quartets from those of Rauzzini's op. 2, but the two sets are highly contrasted in terms of compositional techniques and musical style. The date of the publication does not necessarily imply the date of composition, and it is possible to conjecture that some of the quartets in op. 7 were composed much later than some of the op. 2 works. If the op. 7 strings quartets are not all of equal inspiration, the set nevertheless remains a distinguished publication of much interest.

Musically, the quartets represent a significant advancement in Rauzzini's concepts of construction and musical arguments. Some of the op. 2 quartets might be open to a charge of prolixity, given their multiplicity of musical ideas, and the occasional use of two equal violin parts in which music is repeated with the second violin taking the melodic line and the first violin an accompanying role. This approach may be more "democratic" for the violinists, but it can result in unnecessary repetition. In the op. 7 quartets, Rauzzini adopts the more usual manner of quartet writing in which the music in Violin 1 is higher in pitch than that of Violin 2 and requires more technical ability to perform. If Rauzzini intended his op. 2 quartets for the domestic market, his op. 7 quartets appear to be oriented toward more technically advanced players; one wonders if these quartets were heard in his early concerts in London and Bath. The sixth quartet in the op. 7 set poses significant challenges to the violist, who must play long passages of sixteenth notes, sometimes reaching higher in pitch than both of the violin parts. Similarly, the cellist has some florid passagework that is rhythmically difficult.

Rauzzini does not adopt a consistent format for these quartets, and some are cast in two movements while others are in three. Those works that are in three movements begin with a slow movement. The first quartet is remarkable for not having any movement that is cast as an Allegro:

Quartet no 1 in A: Andante, Larghetto con moto, Minuetto.
Quartet no. 2 in B flat: Allegro, Rondeau.
Quartet no. 3 in E flat: Largo, Allegro assai, Rondeau.
Quartet no. 4 in D: Allegro con spirito, Rondeau.
Quartet no. 5 in C: Allegro moderato, Tempo di Minuetto.
Quartet no. 6 in A: [Allegro moderato], Rondeau Allegro.

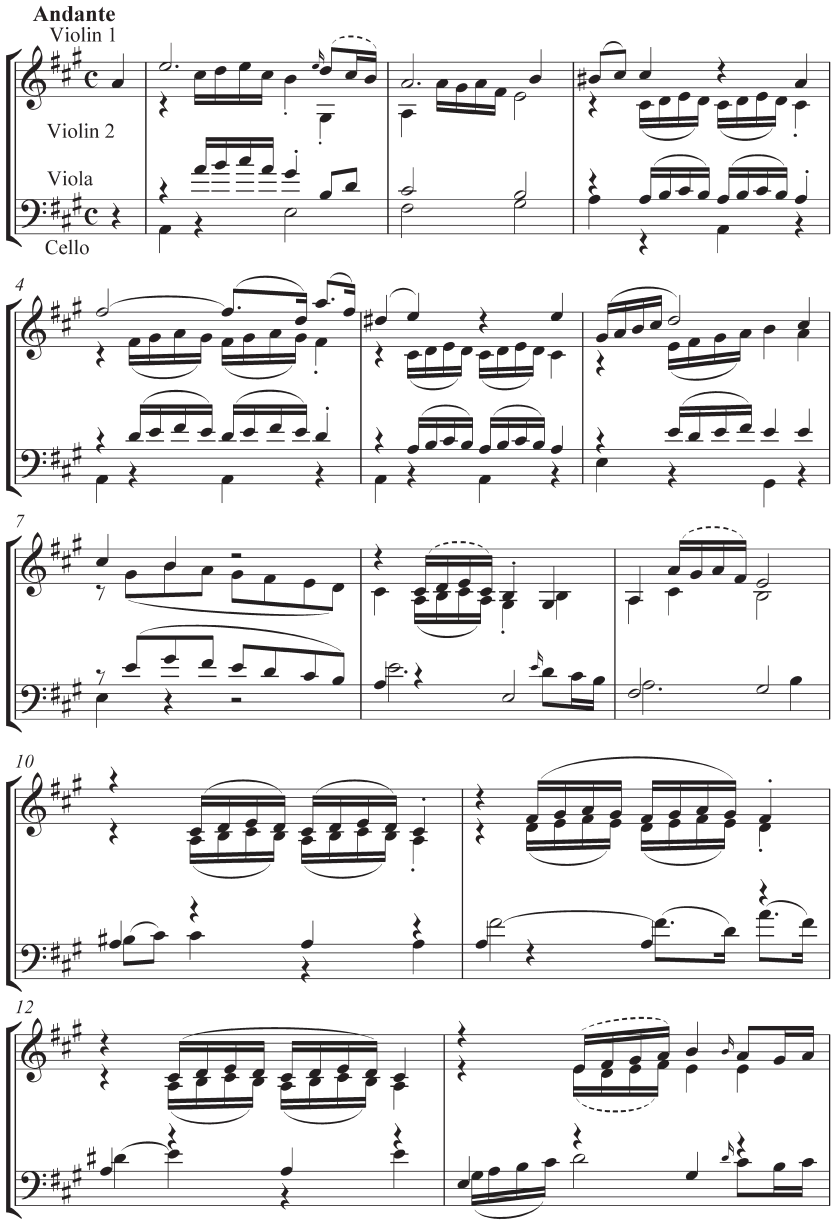
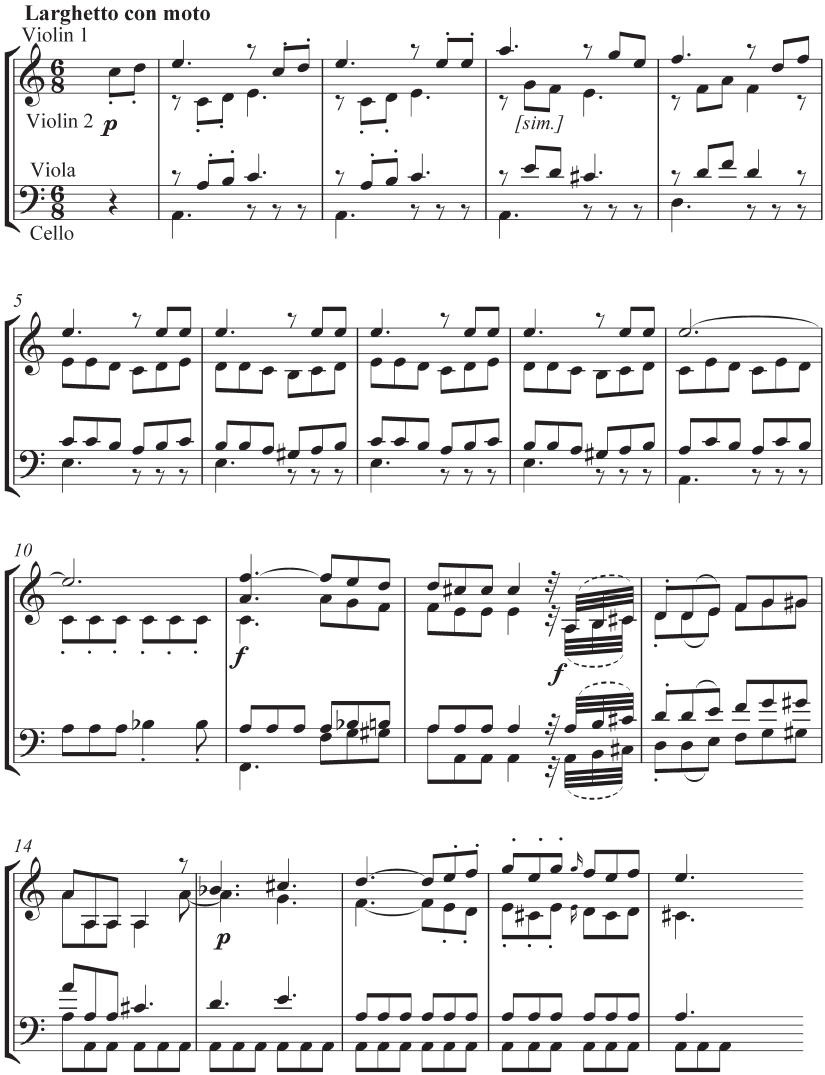
Throughout, the sonata form movements are cast as polythematic binaries which do not recapitulate the opening theme. While the fourth and fifth

quartets recall some of Rauzzini's earlier rococo effusions,[82] others in the series are strikingly different, with complex and rhythmically active melodies that do not always reveal their full potential on first hearing. The musical language can be uncompromising and present challenges to the listener. It is the varied textures and unexpected harmonies that often capture the ear immediately in these quartets, although the melodic contents rarely disappoint. While these quartets share with the op. 2 set an interest in contrasts (be they harmonic, dynamic, or melodic) as well as other aspects of the *empfindsamer Stil*, they may also reveal Rauzzini's growing awareness of Haydn's music, especially the latter's op. 20 quartets.[83]

The absence of part exchange in the violins allows Rauzzini to create compact structures that sometimes border on terseness. Rauzzini manages several harmonic surprises throughout the series, although it is likely that his fondness for diminished chords will be less striking today than it may have appeared in the 1780s. One technique of which he makes frequent use is the pairing of the second violin with the viola in thirds or sixths, thus giving the music played by the first violin greater prominence. Relaxation of the musical tension does not occur often in the set, with only the minuets and a few of the slower movements offering brief moments of repose. Even in the latter, however, one finds a level of tension that is characteristic of the entire set. This is particularly true in the *Larghetto con moto* movement of the first quartet where the repeated notes in the first violin are insistent and drive the music forward with a near-hypnotic effect.

Keyboard Sonatas, Opus 8 (1781)

The six sonatas published as Rauzzini's op. 8 appeared in 1781 and mark another step forward in the composer's stylistic development. While this set was again aimed at the domestic market, Rauzzini still managed to balance this necessity with purely artistic goals, resulting in adventurous formal constructions, rich textures, and chromatically enriched harmonies. The sonatas are highly contrasted on many levels. The first sonata makes use of a fully recapitulatory sonata form and ends with a minuet with three variations. Rauzzini also experiments with his second theme treatment in the first movement of this work by announcing the new key area with a transposed version of the opening theme. This lasts but four measures and the second theme proper enters immediately thereafter. Given that he usually begins the development sections of his sonata forms with the opening theme in the dominant, Rauzzini gives the impression, however fleetingly, in this work of having begun his development section prematurely. This was an experiment which he chose not to repeat, perhaps to be regretted, and he returns to a polythematic treatment in the other sonata-form movements. The first sonata demonstrates both Rauzzini's strengths and weaknesses as a composer. He had a good command over

Example 4.8. Rauzzini, String Quartet in A, op. 7, no. 6, first movement, mm. 1–14.

Example 4.9. Rauzzini, String Quartet in A, op. 7, no. 1, second movement, mm. 1–19.

sonata form, but he sometimes did not achieve seamless transitions from section to section. His strengths lay in striking harmonic progressions and a melodic sense that was not restricted to that which would be termed "vocal." At the same time, the exploration of minor keys and darker emotions would not, from the modern perspective, have gone amiss.

The second sonata, in B-flat major, and the fourth, in A major, do not fit into the concept of keyboard sonatas with violin accompaniment but are true violin sonatas that show the influence of music from the First Viennese School. Entertainment values override those of musical argument in the second sonata, which begins with a brief *Andante moderato* movement in binary form. This is followed by a movement marked *Tempo di Menuetto,* equally brief and also in binary form. The final movement is a spirited rondeau which is twice the length of either of the previous movements. In contrast to the lighthearted nature of the second sonata, the fourth sonata begins with an *Andantino con expressione* with long-breathed phrases that remind us that Rauzzini was a singer. The second and final movement is a vigorous *Allegro spiritoso* cast in a polythematic binary form of larger proportions in which thematic development is given pride of place, and both instruments are treated as equals.

The third (in C major), fifth (in F major), and sixth (in E major) sonatas in the collection are cast as keyboard sonatas with violin accompaniment. The third sonata almost seems out of place in the collection, and harkens back to the op. 1 sonatas. Throughout, the violin part is kept completely in the middle of the keyboard textures, a characteristic that is also true of much of the sixth sonata. The fifth sonata is more adventurous and has a dramatic and busy keyboard part. Some of the violin writing is treated soloistically but not to the same degree as is found in the second and fourth sonatas. While the collection does lack some consistency in approach, one can sense Rauzzini's growing confidence and a greater sense of experimentation in the sonatas in this collection when compared with his op. 1 sonatas. (His most mature sonata compositions, however, would be found in his op. 15 collection from 1786, discussed in chapter 5). All but the second sonata of the op. 8 collection contain two movements. While it is the first movements in most of the sonatas that are most weighty in terms of musical argument, Rauzzini reverses these expectations in the second, with a brief opening *Andante moderato* that is followed by a minuet and an extended *Rondeau.* Throughout, the violin writing creates interplay with the keyboard part that results in considerable rhythmic and textural interest.

Vocal Music

Rauzzini's output in the area of accompanied solo song and vocal chamber music is quite prodigious: it is a repertoire that has been unjustly forgotten. In

the works of his later period, which have written-out accompaniments, in particular, there is much that would be of profit for singers today, allowing them to concentrate on finesse and expression. Similar qualities are to be found in Rauzzini's earlier publications of vocal music set to Italian poetry. The absence of written-out accompaniments in some of this material is a liability in modern performance, however.

Twelve Italian Duettinos for Two Voices, with a Thorough Bass, Opera V

This diverse collection of duets for two voices contains pieces of varying difficulty.[84] As would be expected, there is much writing in thirds and sixths for the two voices. The music is certainly attractive but the popularity of the publication may have soon been undermined by its release with only a figured bass accompaniment. Within a very few years, music for domestic use was more often given fully realized accompaniments. Binary and ternary forms dominate in the collection, although the eighth and twelth pieces are cast as *da capo* structures. Oddly, the final piece is actually a trio rather than a duet. The first duet contains extensive passagework that would test the abilities of amateur performers. Passagework is also to be found in the sixth, seventh, tenth, and eleventh pieces. The final duet/trio is also rhythmically complex. It is unfortunate that Rauzzini never returned to this collection of duets to provide a fully realized keyboard accompaniment. Had he done so, the utility of the publication might have been extended.

Six Favorite Italian Canzonets, for the Voice and Harp, Harpsichord or Piano Forte, Opus 9

This collection of canzonets covers forty oblong folio pages. The title page suggests that they could be accompanied by a variety of instruments, thereby making them attractive to varying domestic situations. The title page is inaccurate on several fronts, for there are actually seven canzonets, rather than six.[85] This publication was likely seen as having greater utility for the domestic market than the previous collection of duets. The first three canzonets have full accompaniments for "Piano Forte" whilst canzonets four through seven have the pedal harp specified as the accompaniment. These accompaniments are equally playable on a keyboard instrument, however. Each canzonet has a separate line for violin or flute that is often written a third below the upper part of the keyboard or harp part. This makes the part appear similar to many of the keyboard sonatas with "violin accompaniment" of the period in which the violin is not a solo instrument in the traditional sense but serves to provide fuller harmonies and textures. There is often doubling of the vocal part in the upper

line of the keyboard; however, Rauzzini does vary these textures sufficiently so that the doubling does not become predictable. The writing for the right hand of the harp part usually consists of broken chords, thereby avoiding this kind of doubling consistently. While the solo lines for flute or violin are given a melodic function, the music could be performed successfully with only a keyboard accompaniment. No dynamics are indicated in any of the parts.

The vocal demands are modest in the first six canzonets. The tessitura is moderate, and the topmost vocal note in the collection is a″, a note that is used sparingly and never held. There are no coloratura passages; it is the solo flute/violin or the right hand of the accompanying instrument that provides greater rhythmic activity when vocal passagework might otherwise have been expected. Rauzzini appears to have been especially careful to construct elegant works that have musical interest but do not pose the kind of vocal demands that would either preclude general domestic purchase or create extreme difficulties for amateur performance. Given that consideration, it is surprising that translations are not given in the release by Blundell. The seventh work stands apart somewhat, being more rhythmically active in the voice part, and having a higher level of vocal difficulty. Given the written-out accompaniments and general attractiveness of the music, this collection of canzonets would prove useful in teaching studios today.

Chapter Five

A Continuing Relationship with the King's Theatre

Bath is by modern standards a short distance from London (about one hundred miles west), but coach travel in the eighteenth century made visiting the city a significant undertaking. Although Rauzzini spent extended periods in the capital during the 1780s, daily commuting between Bath and London was naturally impossible. His life in Bath was, of necessity, very different; to be separated from the excitement of the Italian opera and the other musical pleasures on offer in London would have been a considerable sacrifice. Total isolation from the musical life of London, however, would have been injurious to anyone wanting to be known as an operatic composer. Consequently, Rauzzini found it beneficial to maintain a link with the King's Theatre during the 1780s, performing occasionally in *Piramo e Tisbe*, and composing new works for the company. While it might appear that Rauzzini was poised to enjoy the best of what London and Bath had to offer, his time in London was unfortunately tarnished by the dispute that emerged during the early 1780s with his one-time friend and collaborator, Antonio Sacchini. Not only did this dispute end their friendship in a very public way, it also served to polarize the London critics and opera audiences over Rauzzini's compositions.

The Rauzzini-Sacchini Controversy

This controversy revolved around a claim attributed to Rauzzini that he had composed significant passages of Sacchini's most recent operas.[1] Gossip had been circulating to this effect for some time in London, but matters turned ugly following the premiere of Rauzzini's *L'eroe cinese* on March 16, 1782. The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* published a review of the opera two days later that included comments about a "certain mercenary, but celebrated composer." The reviewer also drew attention to the speculation about the authorship of Sacchini's operas. This paper made a half-hearted attempt at being

even-handed with its decision "not to take upon [itself] to contradict or vouch for the truth of this assertation." On the same day, the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported that *L'eroe cinese* would have been mistaken for Sacchini's work if it had not otherwise been confirmed. On March 20, 1782, the same paper revisited the issue of Rauzzini's having ghost-written for Sacchini, concluding that "a doubt no longer remained on the subject." The resulting Rauzzini-Sacchini controversy blazed in the press of the day, and served no purpose but to harm both composers and the King's Theatre. Charles Burney saw the controversy as being sufficiently important to deserve comment in his *General History of Music*. In modern times, the dispute has been examined by Frederick C. Petty, and Price, Milhous, and Hume.[2]

Antonio Sacchini spent the period of 1772–82 in London. He supplied the King's Theatre with seventeen serious operas, including revisions of earlier works.[3] Although Burney held Sacchini's best operas in high regard, he believed that Sacchini "remained too long in England for his fame and fortune. The first was injured by cabals and by what ought to have increased it, the number of his works; and the second by inactivity and want of œconomy."[4] While Burney remains polite about the nature of Sacchini's dissolute life, it created enemies for him, negatively affected his health and put him in jeopardy of being imprisoned for debt. Sacchini had been extremely unwell in April 1780, and had been unable to attend the premiere of his *Rinaldo* on April 22. On April 29, Susan Burney writes that Sacchini finally attended a performance of the work, but was so ill that he was seemingly unaware of his surroundings or even the fact that there had been an audience in the theater. According to her, Sacchini was so incoherent in his ravings by the end of the evening that Rauzzini exclaimed, "Are you mad?"[5] During this time, it appears that Rauzzini maintained a public stance of being Sacchini's friend. On April 2 Susan Burney had attended a rehearsal of the opera, where she overheard Rauzzini praising Sacchini's music to Mr Harris: she writes that Rauzzini said that he hoped Sacchini would write another eighty operas before ending his career.[6] Price, Milhous, and Hume suggest that Rauzzini's comments were intended as irony since it appears that he may have assisted the ailing Sacchini in the composition.[7] The irony would only have been apparent, however, if Harris knew about the possibilities of Rauzzini's activities.

Sacchini fled to Paris in the summer of 1781 to avoid his creditors. Frances Burney saw him just prior to his departure in the company of Piozzi and Mrs. Thrale. Burney referred to Sacchini as being the "mere ghost of what he was," and that he had degenerated in to a "general *decadence*." Burney much regretted that Sacchini's much admired talents appeared now to be useless.[8] Sacchini returned to London the following year for the production of *La contadina in corte*, a two-act *opera buffa*, in March 1782. The opera was not a new one, but a revision of his 1765 *intermezzo* by the same name in which Rauzzini had created the role of Sandrina. Ill health dogged Sacchini in London; he was too sick

to take his place at the harpsichord for several performances, a duty that was deputized to G. B. Bianci (according to the *Public Advertiser* of March 7, 1782). Sacchini's obvious poor health appears to have fueled the debate of whether or not Rauzzini had ghost-written for him in the past.

Both composers attempted to use the press to distance themselves from the growing controversy. Given that English was not the first language of either, it seems likely that their published comments result from intermediaries who may have had their own agendas. Whoever was responsible for Sacchini's response was wise in writing one that stated briefly that the composer would rise above the situation: "Mr. Sacchini begs leave to declare to the nobility and public, that he shall never alter the resolution he has taken to pay no attention whatever to any insidious news-paper attempts to lessen the good opinion his endeavours to please have so universally procured him." This was published in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* and the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on March 21, 1782. Had Rauzzini's statement been equally brief it is possible that the controversy would have died quickly. Unfortunately, his response, in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on March 23, 1782, was longer, and contained the threat that Rauzzini had evidence that he could produce should Sacchini choose to make any accusations against him.

> Mr. Rauzzini imagines, in justice to himself, he cannot do less than declare, that he never, directly or indirectly, had anything to do with the Paragraphs lately published in the papers concerning Mr. Sacchini, for whom he entertains the esteem due to a veteran in the profession. Mr. Rauzzini also thinks proper to declare, that from this day he never will take the least notice of anonymous attacks, made on him to the daily publications, which he conceives are not only intended to promote dissensions, but to injure him in the opinion of the public. If, however, Mr. Sacchini thinks proper to sign his name to any production, tending to lessen Mr. Rauzzini in the public estimation, he will, in that case, stand forth, and deliver an *unvarnished tale*. The unprejudiced reader will afterwards, no doubt, form a very proper opinion on the subject. The utmost ambition of Mr. Rauzzini is to please the people of England, to whose kind patronage and protection he stands infinitely indebted, but he utterly despises the idea of raising a reputation on the *fallen ruins of another's fame*;—such a thought could only enter the brain of a *wretch* who promotes warfare, for the purpose of getting by the scramble.

The presence of the intermediary agent in the response signed by Rauzzini is perhaps revealed by the inclusion of "learned" quotations, which were shown in italics in the original. These likely did more harm than good. The first, the "unvarnished tale," is taken from Shakespeare's *Othello* (act 1, scene 3), in which Othello rebuts the accusations of having used drugs, charms, spells, and magic to win the love of Desdemona.[9] The second quote, the "fallen ruins of another's fame," is taken from line 520 of Pope's 1711 poem *The Temple of Fame*. Both quotes are appropriate to the situation when viewed in their respective

contexts. For any reader who did not know these contexts, the results may have been inflammatory. The promise to provide an "unvarnished tale" was proof for those who believed that where there was smoke there had to be fire. Furthermore, the second quote appears to negate the earlier claim of giving Sacchini the "esteem due to a veteran in the profession."

Michael Kelly's memoirs provide a different perspective: he writes that Rauzzini claimed that he had composed the arias he sang in the operas by Sacchini, "although the credit of them was given to Sacchini."[10] While it is true that Rauzzini had composed many of the arias that he sang in the *pasticcio* operas presented at the King's Theatre between 1774 and 1777, Kelly appears to have forgotten that Rauzzini had left the theater in 1777 and had not performed in Sacchini's recent operas. Even if Rauzzini had performed in opera in the early 1780s, composing individual arias is not the same thing as having ghost-written large sections of another's works, which was the claim being circulated in the press. What is evident, however, is that the relationship between Sacchini and Rauzzini had become acrimonious. Kelly relates that Rauzzini "accused Sacchini of the greatest ingratitude."[11] Indeed, the acrimony may have been brewing for some time—the curious situation of Sacchini's booking the lower rooms in Hanover Square in 1781 on the same nights as Rauzzini's final concert series in London does not appear to be a friendly gesture.

The ensuing controversy may have served the needs of newspapers and scandalmongers but it injured both composers and divided the London operatic audience. Charles Burney accepted the possibility that Sacchini had hired Rauzzini to compose minor aspects of his operas when illness plagued him, but he could not accept that Rauzzini had composed major arias or entire sections of the former's works.[12] His comments are found in the final volume of his *History* (1789), published seven years after the controversy broke. He certainly knew that Rauzzini had composed arias for his own use in the *pasticcio* operas in which he performed. Furthermore, three operas by Rauzzini had been presented in London to great acclaim at the time of controversy and several others followed prior to the 1789 publication of his *History*. Burney would have been aware of Rauzzini's command of harmonies and his skilled orchestrations. Indeed, he would have known that Rauzzini was more than capable of composing entire scenes and major arias, but one wonders if Burney doubted that he could have matched Sacchini's melodic style so closely that the "seams" would not show.

As mentioned above, both composers suffered because of the controversy. Sacchini's artistic and personal decline became more marked. Having fled to Paris, he was fortunate to enjoy the protections of Marie Antoinette, and he did not have to worry about the charges of ghost-written music. For Rauzzini, however, it proved to be a different story. The controversy gained him enemies in both the press and the public, and his subsequent operatic music was rarely judged on its own merits, but in comparison to other composers. If his music

was virtually identical to that of Sacchini, as some reviewers had stated, it suggested that Rauzzini was merely an imitator and not blessed with originality. With the passing of time, this assumption transformed itself from Rauzzini being an imitator, to that of being a musical plagiarist.

A Troubled Relationship with The King's Theatre

In 1781, Rauzzini initiated a renewed relationship with the King's Theatre with the composition of the second act of the *pasticcio* opera *L'omaggio di paesani al signore del contado* (*The Homage by the Tenants to the Lord of the Manor*), premiered on June 5. Rauzzini performed in the opera but the published libretto does not state his role. As he enjoyed success as both a singer and composer, it is unfortunate that the music has not survived. The entertainment had been advertised for June 1, 1781, but was postponed until June 5. Three subsequent performances followed (June 8, 14, and 16). The initial delay may have resulted from the need for lavish scenery and extended rehearsals; the lack of subsequent performances likely resulted from the high cost of the entertainment.

The work consisted of three acts, of which the music for the first was composed by Battista Bianchi, the second by Rauzzini, and the third by Tommaso Giordani. The work opens with praises being sung to the Lord of the Manor for his benevolence. The Count and Countess welcome their tenants and a celebration follows. In the second act, the shepherds and shepherdess present gifts to the Count and Countess, although these are disdained by a group of peasants. Fileno and Corilla enter and swear their allegiance to the Count, who then permits their marriage. A dance follows. The third and final part is a general celebration of the Count and Countess.

The Italian libretto (with translation) was published in London by E. Cox at the time of the premiere. According to its title page, the production was "under the Direction of Signor Vestris." This would have been Gaetan Appoline Baldassare Vestris who, along with his son, Marie Jean Augustin Vestris, had captivated London audiences that year with their superb dancing. Since no other authors were listed, it is possible that the senior Vestris not only designed the production but was also responsible for the plot. One might question the wisdom of presenting a work on a London stage that had a contemporary French setting, given that the British were losing the American Revolutionary War because of French interference. The evening may have been directed specifically toward the aristocracy, who may have reviled French politics but retained their tastes for French fashion and dance. Reviewers, however, were not impressed by the French subject matter and the thin plot. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* recorded on June 6 that "the sole incident . . . is a representation of the *homage done to the Lord of a Manor by his tenants*; the idea, the Reader will see, is wholly French." The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* was

even more blunt on June 7, stating that the piece "has no plot, but is entirely artificial; so far it in some measure differs from its archetype, the French *petit* [*sic*] *pièce*, and is made the mere vehicle of sound, attitude, and pantomimical *dancing expression*."[13]

Horace Walpole recorded that it had cost Richard Sheridan £1200 to produce, and as a result, the ticket prices were raised to two guineas each. Not surprisingly, the house was not full, even though the evening promised a considerable and varied entertainment including a ball, the opera and a cold supper. The doors at the opera house opened at 9:00 p.m. and the entertainment began an hour later. It was a long evening for those who stayed until the theater closed at 4:00 a.m. The entertainment should have been popular with London audiences but Walpole records that fewer than two hundred tickets were sold.[14] The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* estimated on June 6, 1781, that "there was not above three hundred persons present." There can be little doubt that the event was a financial disaster for Sheridan at a time when he was very short of funds. One reason for the low attendance was suggested on June 11, 1781, by the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, which states that Vestris had let too many people in to watch the rehearsals for free, "by which he lost many of his customers."

The opera's garden setting was handled in a highly realistic manner. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* (cited above) records that the "Theatre was fitted up in a manner equally novel and striking. From the end of the side boxes to the extreme of the stage, the whole was disposed after the manner of a French garden,—decorated with green lattice work, and filled with evergreens, and pots full of the most seasonable flowers, and illuminated with a countless number of lamps of variegated colours, fancifully disposed." Furthermore, "nor was vision the sole sense gratified, the house, contrary to the custom of theatres, being extremely fragrant." Walpole, on the other hand, took a dim view of the entire evening, stating that it "ended in a bad opera, that began three hours later than usual, and at quadruple the price. There were bushels of dead flowers, lamps, country dances—and a cold supper."[15] The truth likely lies somewhere in between these two extremes.

This opera season in London had marked the first appearances of Gaetano Vestris and his son, and London audiences had been enthralled by their performances. They had significantly raised the standards of dance at the King's Theatre. At first glance, the libretto of *L'omaggio* does not reveal the extent to which dance played a part in this opera. Dances are mentioned at the ends of the first two acts but only the last act has more frequent mention of different types of dances. However, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of June 6 reported:

> A variety of dances were interspersed, and some of them with great judgment and most successful fancy. In particular, a pastoral dance at the end of the

> second part, and a minuet and country dance in the third. In those ballets, the *Vestris* gave incontrovertible proof of the variety of their powers, and of the wonderful grace capable of being exhibited in stiles of dancing extremely apposite. They did more, they shewed what this country had never seen—the possibility of presenting to the eye a large and extensive stage filled with dancers all in motion at the same time, and the whole of the moving scene tending to exhilarate the spirits of the spectators, and to merit their admiration and praise.

The newspaper reviews are in general agreement that the dancing was quite spectacular. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on June 7 makes mention of "pantomimical *dancing expression*." This likely indicates that the ballets that the elder Vestris introduced into the opera were *ballets d'action* of the type proposed by Louis de Cahusac in his treatise *La Danse ancienne et moderne* (1754). Such dances contained mimed actions appropriate to the nature of the dramatic situation, a concept developed more fully by the noted dancer and choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre (1727–1810). The descriptions of the opera reveal its similarity to a French *opera-ballet*, although the plot of *L'omaggio di paesani* is continuous throughout the three acts.

The singers also came in for their share of plaudits, with Giovanna Sestini, Maria Prudom, Rauzzini, Roncaglia, and Trebbi being given particular mention by the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on June 1. The presence of both Roncaglia and Rauzzini in the cast would have given the opportunity for the audience to make comparisons of the two singers; Roncaglia had even been appearing in the role of Piramo in Rauzzini's *Piramo e Tisbe* since the end of March. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on June 6 praised Rauzzini, claiming that there was "an equal degree of taste and skill, both in the composition and the singing." Indeed, Rauzzini's music was compared favorably with that of Giordani's third act. The pastoral nature of the second act with its opening chorus of shepherds and expressions of love between the characters of Fileno and Corilla would have played to Rauzzini's strengths as a composer.[16] The *Morning Herald* stated on June 7 that "Rauzzini was surprisingly great, both as a composer and performer" in the sentimental style. The success of his contribution to the opera appears to have paved the way for an increased presence for Rauzzini at the theater, both as a singer and a composer. It is all the more frustrating then that Rauzzini's music for *L'omaggio di paesani* appears not to have survived.

As a result of his success, the theater subsequently granted him the opportunity of a benefit evening on June 21 when he took over the role of Piramo from Ronccaglia in *Piramo e Tisbe*. For the opening of the following season, Rauzzini contributed arias to the *pasticcio* performances of *Ezio*, an *opera seria* with a text by Metastasio (November 17, 1781). The curse that appeared to hang over the production of some *pasticcio* operas used to open previous seasons during the 1770s appears to have lifted as *Ezio* pleased audiences. Much of the success was

accorded to Bertoni's music although Rauzzini's contributions were appreciated. A selection of arias was published by Robert Bremner.[17]

Unfortunately, this happy start to the working relationship with the King's Theatre did not continue. William Taylor and his trustees took control of the management of the theater, leading to a period of tremendous uncertainty.[18] Price, Milhous, and Hume state that this team provided "four seasons between 1781 and 1785 [of] managerial chaos and artistic indirection."[19] Chaos certainly reigned at the theater on occasion, although Taylor did attempt to explore new directions for Italian opera in London. One of these directions was to hire Rauzzini to compose a new opera each year between 1782–84: *L'eroe cinese* (1782), *Creusa in Delfo* (1783), and *Alina ossia La regina di Golconda* (1784). Rauzzini also sang the part of the *primo uomo* in the 1784 opera. What might have been a significant opportunity for Rauzzini, however, was marred from the outset by the eruption of the Rauzzini-Sacchini controversy discussed above.

L'eroe cinese (*Opera Seria* in Three Acts)

L'eroe cinese (*The Chinese Hero*), given its premiere on March 16, 1782, was Rauzzini's first attempt at composing a three-act *opera seria*. In accepting the commission, Rauzzini actively took on Sacchini on the latter's turf. He had sung Sacchini's version in Munich in 1770 and 1771 as well as performing in Bertoni's setting known as *Narbale* in 1774. Although Sacchini's opera was never performed in London, the choice of text might not have been coincidental given the controversy between Rauzzini and Sacchini brewing at the time. Ten performances of Rauzzini's opera were given, with a cast that included Giovanni Ansani (Leango), Gaspare Pacchierotti (Siveno), Maria Prudom (Lisinga), Caterina Lorenzini (Ulania), and Angelo Manzoletto (Minteo). The opera was subsequently revised and given three further performances in 1784, beginning on February 17, when Pacchierotti again appeared in the part of Siveno.[20] The libretto was published by John Cox in London in 1782 and H. Reynell in 1784.

Metastasio's libretto draws on historical accounts detailed by Jean Baptiste du Halde of a Chinese emperor from the tenth century. The 1784 libretto provides the back story to the opera: "In a popular insurrection, in which the emperor Livanius, his master, was forced to save himself by a voluntary exile, in order to preserve the life of the young Svenvango, the only surviving heir of the Imperial family; Leango, with commendable deceit, offered his own infant son, which he had purposely wrapt up in the royal swaddling cloaths [*sic*], instead of the royal infant, to the cruel pursuits of the conspirators; and not withstanding his paternal feelings, he had the fortitude to see him murdered in his presence, without discovering the secret."[21] Amidst the confusion of various love stories, Sivenus is ultimately revealed to be the aged king's true son and the royal line of succession is secured.

There had not been an opera on this subject in London since 1766 so there was much anticipation of Rauzzini's setting. Initial reactions were very positive, although they became more mixed after the euphoria wore off. After the premiere, the *Pubic Advertiser* reported on March 18, 1782, that the new opera gave "much satisfaction to the audience, and of course with equal reputation to the composer." The critic praised "Manzoletto's air, to [a] minuet tune, in the first part of the opera," a reference to "L'amro, sarò costante." This text is best known today through Mozart's 1775 setting in his *Il re pastore*. Metastasio created the libretti for both *Il re pastore* (1751) and *L'eroe cinese* (1752), reusing the aria text in the latter work, where it appears somewhat altered. In *Il re pastore*, the text is sung in act 2 by the character of Aminta, while in *L'eroe cinese*, it is given to the male character of Minteo. Pacchierotti's performance in the duet and trio compositions which ended the first and second acts of *L'eroe cinese* earned the singer praise from this source, as did his performance of the rondeau "Rasserena il vago ciglio." The critic found this air to be "the most pleasing music in the opera, or indeed in any other opera now in our memory." This aria, in particular, appears to have captivated London audiences. The critic of the *Morning Post* writes on March 18, 1781, that "the air [was] formed in imitation of the scotch music and [possessed] almost in as great a degree as the admired harmony of David Rigio,[22] all that pathos and simplicity which characterizes the musical productions of that country." Rauzzini was praised for his skill in accompaniments. The *Public Advertiser* published a second review on March 25 which continued this thought:

> Our last little critique on *L'Eroe cinese* left off with a mention of the artful manner in which the fugue stile is carried on in the finale: Indeed art and invention in the accompaniments are the greatest constituent qualities of the present music, there being scarcely a single passage from the first movement in the overture to the last in the finale, but what shews the *mechanism* of music. In this, the mechanism of music, the artificial arrangement of light and shade, in the affluent invention of his own thoughts, and the skilful adaptation of the thoughts of others, Rauzzini may be called "the arm of Italy."

Comparisons of Rauzzini's music with that of Sacchini were inevitable. The critic of the *Morning Post* (cited above) writes that

> we should certainly have been induced to consider this opera as a production of the latter master [Sacchini] had we not been differently informed by the public avowal to the contrary in the bills, with this discrimination only, that we should undoubtedly have looked upon it as the most luxurient effusions of his professional talents that he had ever produced. There is all the fertility of Sacchini in it without his saneness, and as much richness with more simplicity.

The critic of the *Morning Herald* on March 18, 1782, also took up the question of the Rauzzini-Sacchini dispute, stating that "S_____ in his former idiom

never composed in a better style than the author of *L'Eroe cinese*." These highly favorable comments may have induced the *Public Advertiser*, on April 3, 1782, to back away from its formerly positive reviews of Rauzzini's music in an attempt to create controversy: "Excepting Pacchierotti's 'Razzerena il vago ciglio' and the air of Manzoletto in the first act, tempo du minuet, the rest of the opera, in merit of composition, in felicity of effect, is certainly *inferior* to Sacchini's new burletta of La Contadina in Corte."

There were also dissenting voices in the audience. Frances Burney attended a rehearsal of the opera, and claimed to be "well entertained" but "not at all enchanted." She found that Rauzzini strove too hard to be novel:

> The music is pretty, and the accompaniments pleasant; but there is such a struggle for something uncommon, and such queer disappointments of the ear in the different turns given to the passages from what it expects, that it appears to have far more trick than genius in the composition. . . . Yet I really expect this will be the favourite opera for the season as there are Scotticisms [*sic*] and oddities in it of all sorts, to catch popularity.[23]

While praising Pacchierotti's performance, she complains that his arias were "unworthy of him." The heart of her complaints appears to be the absence of long orchestral ritornelli at the beginning of arias announcing the melody to be sung: "I never found out by the symphonies whether they were meant for him [Pacchierotti]; and I never was at an opera rehearsal before without knowing the first singer's airs long enough before he began them."[24] It is also likely that she hoped to hear Pacchierotti in the kind of virtuoso music most often associated with *opera seria* and was disappointed by Rauzzini's less florid musical style.

The 1784 revival was praised by "John Bull" in the *New Spectator*:[25]

> Of *L'Eroe Cinese* thus much may be said that it is more abundant in good songs than any opera which has been performed this year. Pacchierotti's first air was beautiful; but that in which he added peculiar brilliancy to a divine pathos was his *Rasserena il vago ciglio*; and of his Trio, with Lusini and Franchi too much cannot be said.
>
> The composer Rauzzini is worthy of the laurel. There is not a single song in this opera which has not something to recommend it. A rare circumstance indeed!

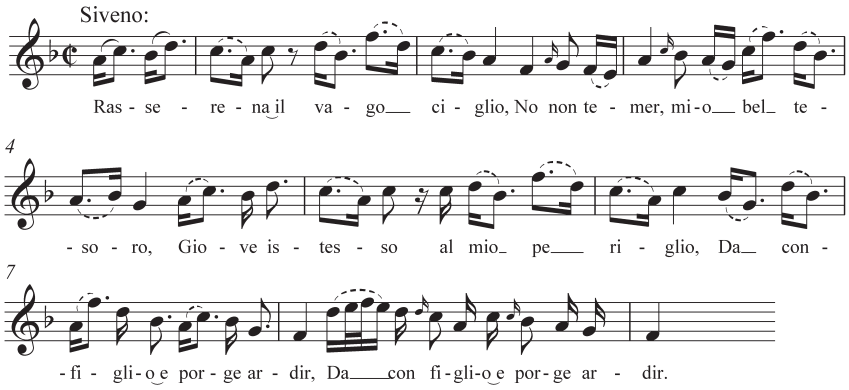
The above comments are intriguing and make it appear that Rauzzini's setting of the text was novel and far removed from the norms of traditional *opera seria*. It is frustrating in the extreme, then, not to be able to confirm such expectations by means of a full score. No full manuscript survives, and the publisher Longman & Broderip undertook only to publish separately eight selected arias from the opera in an unusual format: each aria was reproduced in short score but with the full performing parts appended to it. ("The Instrumental parts

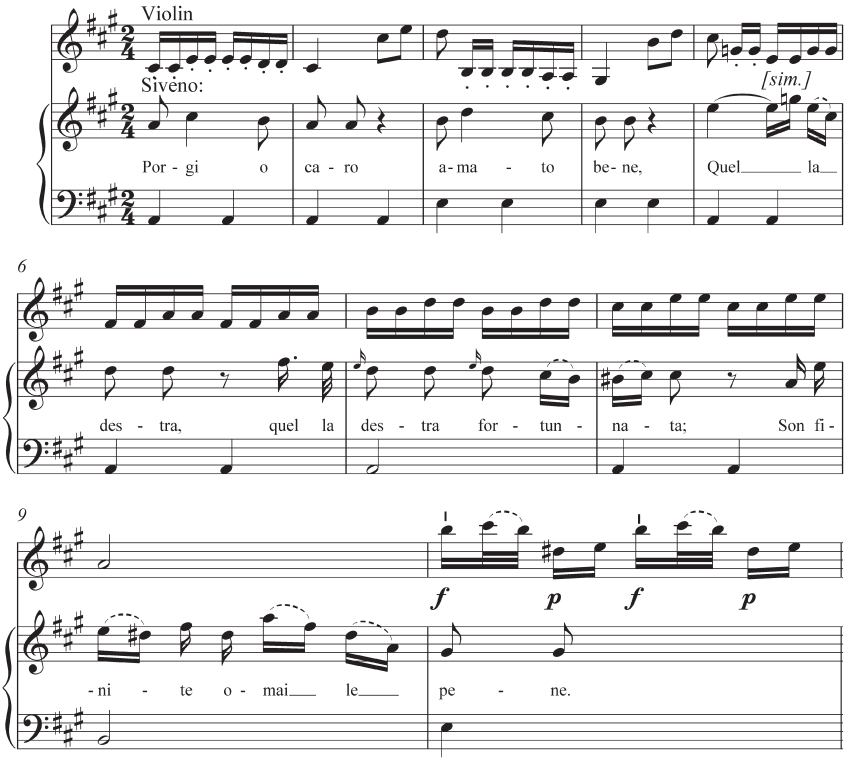
are annexed, and may be separated for the Convenience of Performing it in Concert.") Unfortunately, separate performing parts are easily lost and a complete set of the published arias with their parts does not exist. One of the survivors, "La costanza la in questo petto," for the character of Lisinga, does not appear in either the published libretto or in the approval text sent to John Larpent and was likely cut from the production.[26] Even with the presence of some portions of the score in manuscript there is not a great deal of material on which to assess this work.[27]

The most famous aria in the opera was "Rasserena il vago ciglio," which was published as the second in the series of eight arias by Longman & Broderip. This brief, restrained, ternary air for the character of Siveno (sung by Pacchiarotti) is cast as a larghetto and does not contain passagework or other forms of vocal display. The accompaniment is scored for two oboes, two horns, two violins, and pizzicato lower strings. Although brief, Rauzzini explores a wide range of dynamics (from ***p*** to ***ff***) and also has indications for crescendi. The prominence of the "Scotch snap" rhythm gives the music a folk-like cast: Frederick C. Petty makes the plausible claim that the song "Auld Robin Gray" was the inspiration for the aria, although the comment that Rauzzini's aria is only "an elaboration" of the song is an exaggeration.[28]

Lisinga's aria "Da quell sembiante" is heard at the beginning of act 1, scene 4. The text, which includes the sentiment that the character is burning with love, invites a bravura setting. Rauzzini provides this in a large-scale ternary aria with long coloratura passages, a high tessitura, and a range that extends to d‴. In addition to the intricate vocal line, there is much rhythmic activity in the upper strings to give the music forward motion. The trio "Dolce vita," for the characters of Lisinga, Siveno, and Leango, concludes act 2. The setting begins conversationally as the characters express their individual emotions. As their respective moods become darker and terror-filled, the vocal writing becomes chordal in nature. Throughout, Rauzzini's effective scoring adds much to creating the swirling undercurrent of tension and fear in the scene.

Fortunately, a longer *scena*, beginning with the recitative "Calma, bella Lisinga" sung by Pacchierotti and Prudom, survives in a complete form with its instrumental parts.[29] The scene opens with a recitative for the characters of Siveno and Lisinga. The duet that follows is cast as a conversation between the two characters, with the singers alternating, but not singing together until the final phrase of the opening Andantino. A change of tempo takes place and the final section of the scene is handled in an emphatic proto-cabaletta (Allegro) in which the two characters sing of their faith that love will prevail ("My soul is struck with affright. The feelings of my heart cause such conflict between fear and hope—But constancy shall triumph, and love shall conquer.") The simplicity of the vocal lines at the opening of the duet contrasts with the more rhythmically active accompaniment. This is appropriate to the text, as Siveno attempts to calm the fears of the distraught Lisinga. Not only is

Example 5.1. Rauzzini, *L'eroe cinese*, "Rasserena il vago ciglio," vocal line, mm. 1–9.

Siveno:
Ras - se - re - na il va - go ci - glio, No non te - mer, mi - o bel te -
4
- so - ro, Gio - ve is - tes - so al mio pe - ri - glio, Da con -
7
- fi - gli - o e por - ge ar - dir, Da con fi - gli - o e por - ge ar - dir.

Example 5.2. Rauzzini, *L'eroe cinese*, "Porgi, o caro," vocal line, mm. 1–10.

this music highly attractive, it does not bear out Frances Burney's complaints of "Scotticisms and oddities . . . of all sorts, to catch popularity." Indeed, the composer of *Piramo e Tisbe* is clearly evident.

The aria "Ti leggo in volto" was composed for the character of Siveno in act 2, scene 5. At that point in the drama, Siveno is forced to give up his love, Lisinga, and he sings a lament, cast as a rondo, that is more wistful than tragic in quality.[30] While there is some repetition of the text, it is not used to give opportunity for coloratura extensions and display. Rauzzini again appears to attempt a very direct emotional communication with a setting that is largely syllabic in nature. Rauzzini was not alone in creating music of this type. Price, Milhous, and Hume comment that Rauzzini "certainly subscribed to Sacchini's policy of simplicity."[31] An allegiance to the principles of operatic compositions espoused by Gluck could also be cited. The subsequent comments made by the authors noted above, that this approach did not necessarily suit the dramatic situation, could only be substantiated in the presence of the complete score.

"Sventurata, abbandonata" was performed in act 3, scene 5 by the character of Lisinga. At this point in the opera, Siveno had been abandoned by his friends and was believed to have drowned when his enemies sank his boat. Lisinga laments Siveno's presumed drowning.[32] Price, Milhous, and Hume highlight Rauzzini's harmonic abilities in this aria when they discuss the unexpected shift to F-sharp major at measure 61, a moment that reveals a sense of disbelief in the events.[33] Indeed, throughout the music discussed above, Rauzzini's sensitivity to the changing moods in the libretto is effectively underscored through his adventurous harmonic sense.

L'eroe cinese was Rauzzini's first *opera seria*, and his musical setting for it likely surprised some people. The critic of the *Public Advertiser* praised Rauzzini's music on March 25, 1782, for the same reasons that it had disturbed Frances Burney: the "art and invention in the accompaniments," and the opera's general novelty. What were Rauzzini's intentions with this opera? Was he trying to bridge the gap between traditional Italian *opera seria* and other foreign styles? Could he have been purposely imitating composers like James Hook in order to appeal to his British audience? Such a scenario might have been popular with the troubled managers of the King's Theatre, who needed to increase their ticket sales to make the presentation of Italian opera viable. An examination of the surviving music does not bear out this possibility. If more of the music had been in the nature of "Rasserena il vago Ciglio," a case might be made for Frances Burney's complaints about "Scotticisms and oddities in it of all sorts" that were intended to "catch popularity." While much of this opera is lost, what remains bears testimony to Rauzzini's musical style changing little from that of his earlier operas, which were based on economy of means and simplicity of expression. This may have disappointed some in the audience who wanted a more flamboyant musical style for an *opera seria*.

The initial enthusiastic reception accorded to *L'eroe cinese* must have been gratifying for Rauzzini. Unfortunately, this did not translate into financial security for him, even though he was presumed to be quite wealthy. The *Whitehall Evening Post* gave a list of incomes of famous musicians on May 4, 1782. Rauzzini's income is listed at £2000, £200 more than that listed for Sacchini, and £500 more than either J. C. Bach or K. F. Abel are alleged to have received from their court appointments.[34] The reality of the situation must have been quite different: a warrant was sworn out against Rauzzini that resulted in his being cast into debtor's prison on the same day that the newspaper printed its story. His time in prison appears to have been brief, for the discharge book shows his release on May 7.[35]

The following year (1782–83) saw William Taylor declare bankruptcy, and the King's Theatre in utter chaos. Taylor's financial problems were, to a large degree, the result of the extensive refurbishment and enlargement of the theater's auditorium that been undertaken after the previous season. By the spring of 1783, the singers had not been paid in so long that they appealed for public support. Taylor was ultimately arrested in April 1783, and a lawsuit was filed by at least 157 persons who were owed money. Rauzzini's name is included on the list with £100 listed as being owed to him.[36] This was hardly the most propitious atmosphere in which to present his new opera, *Creusa in Delfo*, on April 29, a premiere that came late in a troubled season.

Creusa in Delfo (*Opera Seria* in Two Acts)

This opera was performed only twice, on April 29 and May 3, 1783. The cast was a reasonably strong one and included Gaetano Scovelli (Sutus, King of Athens), Signora Carnevale (Creusa, Queen of Athens), Gaspero Pacchierotti (Ionus, under the name of Lyceus), Teresa Gherardi (Laodamia), and Vincenzio Bartolini (Philochus).[37] The libretto published by H. Reynell in London (1783) does not name the librettist, and both Gaetano Martinelli (d. 1802) and Marco Coltellini (1710–77) have been suggested as possible authors. While Rauzzini may have met Coltellini in Vienna after the latter succeeded Metastasio as the Imperial Poet at the Court of Vienna in 1763, and subsequently set Coltellini's *Piramo e Tisbe* to music, no known libretto about Creusa in Delphos from Coltellini's pen has survived. Martinelli, on the other hand, penned a libretto by this name in 1774. It is possible that one of the house poets for the King's Theatre adapted Martinelli's work for Rauzzini's use. The score of the opera was not published, although R. Bremner released one aria, "Spiegar non poso oh Dio!" in 1783.

The plot of *Creusa in Delfo* not convoluted, but there is sufficient personal drama in it to maintain interest. Some knowledge of the back story is necessary to understand the libretto, however. Creusa, the daughter of the King of Athens,

had been seduced by Apollo, by whom she secretly had a son. The baby, named Ionus, was taken to the temple by an old retainer where he was raised under the name of Lyceus. The young boy gained the favor of the Athenians and was ultimately made the keeper of the temple's treasury. Sometime after the birth of Ionus, Creusa was married off to Sutus, an Acajan hero, but the couple had no children. When the opera opens, Sutus despairs because he has no heir. He seeks a remedy from the oracle of Delphos. Apollo, however, wants his son by Creusa to be the founder of the Ionian race. Apollo relates a message to Sutus that the first youth he will meet after leaving the temple is actually his son. That person is Lyceus. King Sutus wrongly presumes that Lyceus is the result of an earlier romantic entanglement with Ladice of Delphos and declares him to be the successor to the crown of Athens. Creusa, not realizing that Lyceus is actually her son, is horrified because she believes that Sutus now plots against her by putting the child of a rival on the throne of her father. In act 2, she is consumed by jealousy and determines to poison Lyceus.[38] The latter does not drink the potion she prepared but offers it up to the idol in the Delphic Temple. Ominous signs reveal her perfidy and the guard that helped Creusa confesses his guilt. Creusa is arrested and sentenced to be sacrificed to the offended deity. Apollo again intervenes (although he never appears on stage), providing the proof that Lyceus is really Ionus, Creusa's son. Furthermore, he orders Ionus/Lyceus to take the throne and pardon his mother's actions. Sutus is told that he must revere heaven's decree.

The printed libretto claims that the unnamed librettist drew upon Euripides and others for his source. There are elements in the story with appeal, and the character of Creusa is far from two-dimensional. There were also opportunities for considerable spectacle, though one wonders if the theater had sufficient money to undertake the necessary staging. Unfortunately, the ending falls rather flat and reads as if cuts were made at the last minute. Because Apollo never appears on stage, it is left to the high priest of the temple to announce Apollo's decrees. Sutus, who would have followed his wife to the sacrifice, is unceremoniously robbed of his crown, and not allowed to say anything about it.

Critical reaction to the opera was mixed. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* gave a brief but very positive review of the new opera on May 1, 1783. The reviewer stated that Rauzzini "demands our warmest praise for its originality and masterly composition." Both Pacchierotti and Carnevale were praised for their singing. The critic prophesied that "Spiegar non poso oh Dio!" would "prove as great a favorite as 'Rasserena in L'Eroe Cinese' of the same composer last year." Other critics were less kind. The critic for the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* wrote April 30, 1782, that "some allowance should be made for the probable state of the musician's mind, which cannot be supposed at ease, and unoppressed, amidst the pressure and embarrassment of all surrounding circumstances." While the comments might well refer to Rauzzini's

troubled financial situation or that of the theater, the reviewer's comments are so open-ended that some could have thought that they referred to the cabal with Sacchini, thereby inviting invidious comparisons. The remainder of the review does little to ameliorate the unfortunate opening comments:

> This, however, is to be received, according to our meaning, as a reason why this serious Opera is *not better*, rather than as an apology for its being at all bad. A great deal of it is in truth very good. The *Overture*, though not very rich in melody and pathos of Adagio, is in its harmony sufficient, and in grandeur of effect, somewhat striking, very striking.
>
> In the Finale, at the end of the first act, that part of it, which is a sort of fugue, is very ingenious, and rather sublime. But the most pleasing portions of the whole opera are indisputably the *two airs of Pacchierotti*; and of them the first is the best.

Seemingly the reviewer for the *London Advertiser* could not make any positive comments without qualifying them. The account in the *Public Advertiser* on April 30, 1783, would not have cheered Rauzzini much either:

> Rauzzini's Creusa in Delfo, like his L'Eroe Cinese of last Year, has the same Excellencies and the same Faults: in short all of the Mechanisms of the Orchestra, in the Finesse of Accompanyments, in the Prosecution of the Subject, in a Manner that is harmonious and according to the Rules of Art—in all these Rauzzini is not wanting.—In the opposite Set of Musical Excellencies, melodious Airs and impassioned Effects, this Opera is not so much to be praised.

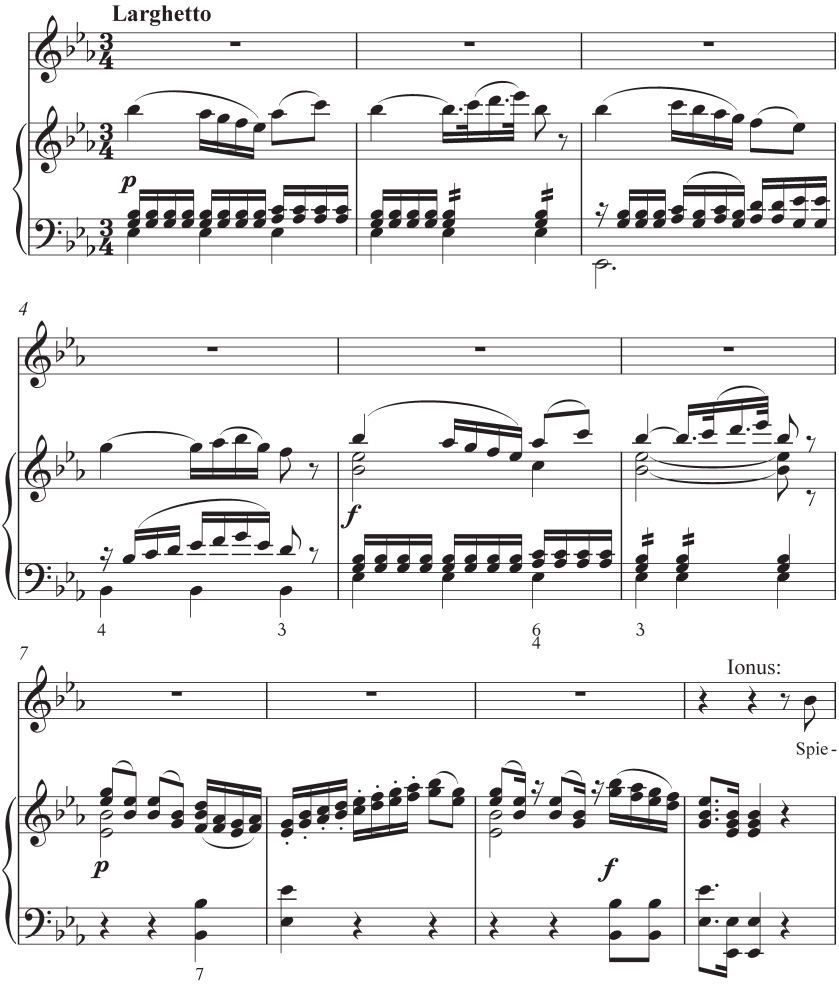
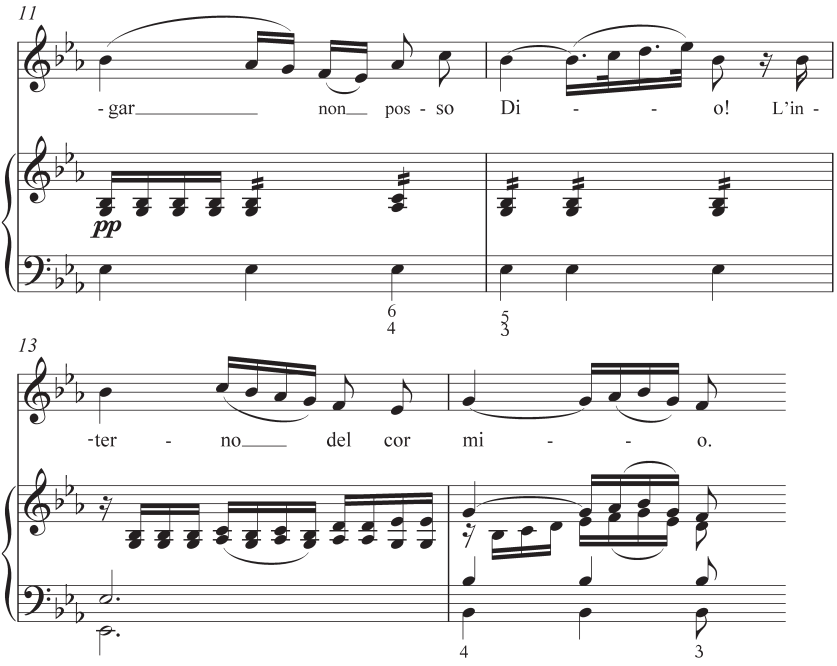
The critical consensus appears to have been that Rauzzini's music was "scientific" and displayed a developed harmonic sense and skilful orchestrations. Truly dramatic effects and memorable melodies were deemed to be largely absent. The author of the review in *Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer* on May 7, 1783, complained of a lack of originality in the score. While the *Public Advertiser* (April 30) may have found the pulse of public opinion when it criticized Rauzzini for his lack of "melodious airs and impassioned effects," it appears that the earlier disputes with Sacchini had colored opinions of some critics and audience members. It is also possible that Rauzzini's Gluckian style appeared to be rather old fashioned by 1783. While Rauzzini excelled in the creation of elegant pastoral music, his restrained melodic style may not have pleased an audience now used to works by Piccinni, Traetta, and Anfossi. Pasquale Anfossi's position as the theatre's music director had allowed him to program three of his own operas in the 1782–83 season and those, along with two new operas by Bertoni, appear to have pushed Rauzzini's *Creusa* aside.

All trace of the score has disappeared, other than "Spiegar non posso oh Dio!" This leaves little on which to base any judgments, but the critical

comments about a fugal finale are intriguing to say the least. The published aria was composed for Pacchierotti, and Rauzzini was likely very conscious of the need to provide that singer with an aria that was memorable.[39] Although cast as a larghetto within a *piano* dynamic level, the vocal writing remains rhythmically active and has numerous melodic leaps. The orchestration is for two oboes, two horns, and strings and, once again, the scoring is idiomatic and colorful. Rauzzini is careful that the winds should never overshadow the singer. As is often the case with Rauzzini's music, the vocal line must be heard in the context of the accompaniment. On its own, it might appear to lack sufficient melodic profile; however, within the framework of that accompaniment, the music takes on a spaciousness and coherence that is completely in keeping with the mood of the text. There are many brief, expressive rests in the melodic line, and the ends of phrases are delicately ornamented. The result is one of refinement and pastoral beauty of the sort that suited Rauzzini's talents best. There are no demands of coloratura passagework; indeed, such vocal display would have been inappropriate at this point (see ex. 5.3).

The period leading up to the premiere of the opera must have been extremely fraught for Rauzzini. Another warrant for his arrest had been sworn on April 7, 1783, and he was subsequently thrown into debtor's prison.[40] Although the discharge book shows that he was released on June 2, it is disheartening to read in the *Whitehall Evening Post* of July 17–19, 1783, that "poor Rauzzini continues in his retirement in St. George's Field," a reference to the notorious King's Bench Prison (one of the prisons badly damaged during the Gordon Riots of 1780). The newspaper's statement does not necessarily mean that Rauzzini was still in debtors' prison: people convicted of debt could pay to enjoy the "Liberty of the Rules," a system that allowed them to live within three square miles of the prison until they had settled their debts. If the newspaper report is accurate, it would appear that Rauzzini had not yet come to terms with his creditors.

The 1783–84 season of operas was beset by managerial controversies of a different sort. At the centre of these was Giovanni Gallini (1728–1805), a dancing master who had purchased the mortgage on the theater in an attempt to wrest control from James Harris and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the leaseholders. Sheridan had earlier declared bankruptcy, and turned the financial affairs of the theater over to the lawyer William Taylor. Taylor bought out Sheridan's interest in 1781 but was arrested for debt in May 1783. At the subsequent sale, James Harris purchased the lease, and a battle for control between Gallini and Harris followed. In the summer of 1783 both sides organized recruiting trips to the continent for new singers, thereby leading to all manner of confusion and questionable artistic choices. While Gallini did much to rebuild the company, he was ultimately ousted on February 14, 1784, only a month before the premiere of Rauzzini's new opera, *La regina di Golgonda*.[41] As confusion reigned in the theater, Rauzzini did what he could to keep performances going. He is

Example 5.3. Rauzzini, *Creusa in Delpho*, "Spiegar non posso," mm. 1–14.

Example 5.3.—*(concluded)*

listed in the newspaper advertisements providing the musical direction for the three performances of Sarti's *Le gelosie vilante* in April. At the same time, the costs for producing his new opera proved to be a sticking point for the creditors of the theater. A letter from an anonymous creditor was published in the *Morning Post* on March 18, 1784. It lamented the fact that Antoine Le Texier had been engaged as a producer for only *La regina di Golconda*, that Rauzzini had been hired as the *primo uomo* for the piece when Pacchierotti was also on the payroll, and that Signora Carnevole had been engaged to replace Signora Lusini. Since the published letter contained the actual amounts paid to the individuals named, it appears that it came from sources close to the centre of the disputes. The London newspapers became highly polarized over these issues, coloring their opinions about Rauzzini's new opera and the quality of his singing.[42] For Rauzzini, however, it would appear that his finances were likely on a better footing than they had been in some time, for it was reported that he was paid £700 for his performances in his new opera. Luckily for him, there are no records of his being confined to debtor's prison in 1784.

Alina, osia La regina di Golconda

The revival of Rauzzini's *L'eroe cinese* and the premiere of his *Alina, osia La regina di Golconda* during the spring of 1784 must have been initially heartening for him given the events of the previous two years. *La regina di Golconda* (as it was most often called) enjoyed eleven performances between March 18 and June 8, 1784. The libretto for *La regina di Golconda* was by Antonio Andrei, a house poet at the King's Theatre.[43] Andrei claimed to have based his libretto on the novel, *Alina*, by the Chevalier de Bouffers, but M.-J. Sedaine's *opéra-ballet*, *Aline, reine de Golconda*, appears to have been a primary influence.[44] As a result, dance had a significant role in the new opera and the names of the dancers were given equal billing with those of the singers in the libretto published by H. Reynell. Andrei's libretto was a new one and, significantly, it does not appear to have been reused.[45] The cast assembled for the production included Signora Carnevale (Alina, Queen of Golconda), Rauzzini (Alberto, an English General and Ambassador to the English queen), Teresa Schinotti (Zelia, confident to the queen), and Angelo Franchi and Vincenzio Bartolini (Osmino and Usbek, grandees). The lengthy list of solo dancers included: (Men): Charles Lepiq, Luigi Henry, Théodore d'Auberval, Auguste Vestris, Simon Slingsby, Blake, Zuchelli, and Monetti; (Women): Mme Théodore d'Auberval, Adelaide Simonet, ?Theresa Simonet, ?Leonora Simonet, and Rossi. Indeed, some of the dancers were more famous than the singers in the opera. The following synopsis of the story is taken from the published libretto:

> ALINA, a beautiful, innocent, and sensible shepherdess, meeting with Alberto, the Lord of the Manor, where she was born, kindled in his heart a passion which he was unable to conceal. In the virtue of Alina, Alberto found an obstacle to his transports, and the difference of their condition was an unsurmountable difficulty in the way to that happiness which he might have enjoyed in an union with the object of his wishes. Alina, who felt a mutual passion for her lover, in order to avoid the danger of it, left her native country, and after various and singular adventures arriving at Golconda, was by that people proclaimed by that people their Queen. In her elevated situation, she maintained constantly her tender affection for Alberto, and with that diligence and industry inseparable from a heart that truly loves, she caused a village to be built exactly like that of her beloved Alberto's. The castle, the wood, the garden, the river, with a bridge formed of trunks of trees, and her own cottage resembled so exactly those of her native spot, that Alina, enticed by a pleasing illusion, often retired from the affairs of her kingdom, to sooth her love with the contemplation of objects so dear to her passionate heart. Alberto advanced to the rank of a General in India, is by his Sovereign's commission sent on an embassy to the Queen of Golconda, who received him seated on her throne, and covered with a veil, according to the Asiatic custom. Here the Opera begins. She knows her lover without being known to him, and the better to discover whether he still loves her, she

> prepares for him a magnificent entertainment, in which by means of soporiferous flowers, she gets him lulled to sleep, and causes him to be conveyed to the above village. Awakening, he is astonished at the sight of the place; more so when Alina appears before him, in her country dress, which she has always preserved, and after many endearing expressions between them, she disappears. In order to come to an undoubted proof of his fidelity, the Queen sends a tender to him of her hand and crown, and on his refusal of so great an offer, being well assured of his constancy, she requites it by giving to him her hand in marriage, and dividing with him her kingdom.[46]

Given the longstanding political issues that Britain and France had experienced throughout the century, presenting an opera that was French in style was likely unwise. Critics attacked both the plot and Rauzzini's music, complaining of musical plagiarism. Such accusations were hardly new in London. Tomasso Giordani met similar charges when his alleged contributions to Anfossi's *Le marchese giardiniera* in 1775 were questioned in the *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser* on March 9–11, 1775. By comparison, the attack on Rauzzini was very strong. Perhaps the most vitriolic came from the *Public Advertiser*. On March 19, the newspaper published a review that complained of the "want of originality, palpable plagiaries, [that] are forever offending the ear of experienced taste. Thus the first duo, if every man had his own again, should be restored to Sacchini; the second is Bertoni's." The charge of plagiarism was soon picked up by the *New Spectator* on March 23. This paper had heaped praise upon the revival of *L'eroe cinese* in its issue of February 24, but a marked anti-French bias appears to have influenced the paper's reporting of the new opera: *La regina di Golconda* "is miscalled an *opera*. It is a kind of dramatic *hodge-podge*: it is not an opera, for the better part of it consists of dancing; it is not a ballet, for it is intermixed with singing. We are told it is after the French style, and I trust it is, for it is by no means worthy of any other stage." The reviewer continues in the same tone, attacking Rauzzini's honesty as a composer:

> Of the music, respecting which no small sum has been spent in *puffing* it in the news-papers, it may be said in general to be pretty, and would have done Rauzzini credit had it been his own. But the prettiest parts of the pretty, have been borrowed: neither of the duets, which excited general applause,—though I cannot say they so singularly merited it—neither of the duets are originally from Rauzzini. Still there was something to commend.

That practice of inserting "puff" pieces into the newspapers about the merits of an opera before the actual premiere was hardly unknown, although there is no proof for the accusation in the present case.

Countering these comments, the *Morning Herald* on March 24 printed a new review following the second performance not only praising the second-act duet "Viva Alina sol per te," but also calling the second act "a *chef d'œuvre* in the pastoral stile." On March 26, the same paper stated that *Demofonte* had been

performed, "we hope for the last time," comparing it unfavorably to *La regina di Golconda*, the latter opera being cited as having greater variety and interest. Unfortunately, the *Public Advertiser* continued its attacks not only on the composition but also on Rauzzini's performance in the role of Alberto. Rauzzini's decision to undertake this role was rather surprising: it invited comparisons with Pacchierotti, who was the *primo uomo* that season, and who performed in the revival of *L'eroe cinese*. Although Rauzzini had sung successfully in the 1781 performances of *L'omaggio di paesani* at the King's Theatre, undertaking an *opera seria* role posed different vocal challenges. The *Morning Herald* expressed the hope on March 16, 1784, that the return of Rauzzini to the stage would "rouse between him and Pacchierotti that spirit of noble emulation which was ever conducive to the improvement of the arts." After the rehearsal of March 17, the newspaper promised that Rauzzini would be immortalised "both as a composer and singer." Following the premiere, this paper reported on March 19, 1784, "Rauzzini, who in the part of Alberto, was above our most sanguine expectations . . . if there is any alteration in his voice, we freely declare it to be for the better." Four days later, this same paper reported that the "talents of Rauzzini as a singer never was called in question, much less his merit as an actor."

The opposing voices were equally strong. The *New Spectator* wrote on March 23 that "Rauzzini heretofore, may have sung well: at present he scarcely boasts of mediocrity, and yet he sung—for it was singing—that which should have been better sung by Pacchierotti!" The *Public Advertiser* was only slightly more positive on March 19 when the paper reported that "Rauzzini, as a First Singer, is really not above Mediocrity—he is *just* tolerable, and no more." In part, the comments were directed at the managers of the King's Theatre, but Rauzzini was their means of bringing the management under critical scrutiny. It could not have been easy for him to read the endless negative reviews. On March 24 *La regina di Golconda* was called "one of the *most ill contrived Absurdities* ever exhibited," with music "almost all poached from the commonest common Places."[47] On April 13, it was referred to as a "perverse Absurdity of Dullness and vulgar Taste." On April 24, the opera was described as "sinking under the Weight of its own Dullness." On April 29, the music was described as "a silly Piece of Plagiarism," and on May 3 as "Shockingly disgusting . . . Trumpery," and his arias as "poached Ballads."[48] Finally, on May 10, the *Public Advertiser* had its final critical comment with: "the House has for these past six Weeks past been almost empty, and now at last was again full [following the premiere of Anfossi's *Issipile*]. For these six weeks past the Town has been disgusted with bad Music, ill sung; with that wretched apology for a first rate singer, Rauzzini, and that barbarous dullness which he thinks Music, his *Regina di Golconda*." The *Public Advertiser* was a pro-government press,[49] and one wonders if the continued attacks against Rauzzini as both composer and performer might have had a political (anti-French) origin, given the opera's French influences.

Rauzzini may have taken some comfort in the positive review of the publication of the second act of the opera found in the *European Magazine*,[50] although it came too late to sway public opinion or silence the diatribes of the *Public Advertiser*. The unnamed reviewer took considerable pains to present a balanced evaluation of the publication and concluded that the music, "though not without objections, is justly intitled [*sic*] to much applause, and does infinite honour to the talents of Signor Rauzzini, who, we hope, will gratify us as soon as possible with the remaining Act."

The truth of the situation must lie somewhere between these highly politicized opinions. It is likely that Rauzzini's voice was no longer as pristine as it had been when he first arrived in London. That said, he sang all eleven performances, and the music was tailor-made to his vocal abilities. He must have given some pleasure as a singer, and there is no reason to completely discount the positive review in the *Morning Herald*.[51] On the other hand, he was nearly forty years of age and had spent close to a decade in concert management and the composition of large quantities of music. He appears to have realized that his days as a regular opera singer were over and he retired from staged operatic singing after these performances. This was an honorable end to this part of his career.[52]

Given the vitriolic tone of some of the newspaper reviews, perhaps it is not surprising that the theater never revived the opera. Fortunately, a score of excerpts was published that permits a modern assessment of the music without the interference of anti-French bias or remembered resentment over the Rauzzini-Sacchini dispute.[53] Longman & Broderip released portions of each act separately, thus allowing purchasers to buy their preferred act. They provided a new title page for each of the three acts but kept the pagination continuous throughout the publication. The music was published in short score with parts for violins indicated, although some of the ballet music is further reduced to keyboard score, as is the overture. The result was a "highlights" edition, lacking recitatives and choruses.[54] Without the original manuscript to examine, it is not possible to know exactly how much music has been omitted; however, comparison with the published libretto invites the conjecture that only about half was published. The contents of the score follow. Page numbers are listed on the left side, with the corresponding places in the libretto indicated in brackets:

Act 1:

1–5. Overture in four movements: Allegro, D major/A major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through composed; Andante, A major, $\frac{6}{8}$, ternary; March, D major, $\frac{2}{4}$, binary; March, C major, ¢, binary. Keyboard score.

6–11. "Di questo lieto giorno" [Usbek], C major, ¢, ternary aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 8].

12–17. "Son guerriero e non pavento" [Alberto], A major, $\frac{4}{4}$, ternary aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 8].

18–21. “Per un almo innamorata” [Alina], B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 11, from “Per un cor unnamorata”].
22–23. “Dolce e’L’immaggine” [Zelia], G major, $\frac{2}{4}$, through-composed aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 12].
24–25. “Tu vedesti in riva al fonte” [Alina], A major, $\frac{2}{4}$, ternary aria [Libretto: p. 12].
26–35. Ballo, B-flat major, ¢; D major, $\frac{3}{4}$; D major, $\frac{2}{4}$; D major, $\frac{2}{4}$. Keyboard score. End of Act 1 [Libretto: p. 21].

Act 2:
36–46. “Ove mi trovo, oh Dei” [Alberto], E-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$; C major, $\frac{4}{4}$; F major, $\frac{3}{4}$; B-flat major, ¢. Multi-movement scena. Short score [Libretto: p. 23].
47–50. “Vive Alina sol per te” [Alberto & Alina], A major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed duet. Short Score [Libretto: p. 27].
51–54. “Fra quest ombre” [Alina], F major, $\frac{3}{4}$, ternary aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 28].
55. blank.
56–57. Ballo di pastori. A major, $\frac{6}{8}$. Keyboard score [Libretto: p. 29].
58–61. “Non si trova no si vede” [Usbek & Zelia], G major, $\frac{2}{4}$, rondo. Short score [Libretto: p. 28].
62–63. Ballo. D major, $\frac{6}{8}$. Keyboard Score.
64–67. “E’ questa o figli, . . . Doppo la ria procella,” A major/ G minor, $\frac{4}{4}$; C major, ¢, recitative and ternary aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 31].
68–72. “Di con tentarsi . . . Fuggi Amor . . .” [Franchi, Bartolini & Zelia], C major, $\frac{4}{4}$; D major, ¢, $\frac{3}{4}$, ¢. Recitative, terzetto and chorus. Short score [Libretto: p. 32].
73. blank.
74–79. Ballo. C major, ¢, $\frac{6}{8}$; E-flat major, $\frac{3}{8}$; C major, $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$; F major, ¢; F minor, ¢; F major, ¢. Keyboard score.
80–82. “Dolce Alina ove sei” [Alberto], D major, $\frac{6}{8}$, through-composed aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 35].
83. blank.
84–85. Ballo. D major/minor, ¢ Keyboard score [Libretto: p. 35].
86. “Si lasci questo suolo” [Usbek], C major, ¢, recitative. Keyboard score [Libretto: p. 35].
86–89. “D’amar ognor la pastorella” [Usbek, Zelia, and chorus], C major, $\frac{6}{8}$, rondo. Short score [Libretto: pp. 35–36].

Act 3:
90–93. “Marte nel nobil sdegno” [Usbek], A major, $\frac{4}{4}$, ternary aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 36].

94–96. "Se éver che sia" [Zelia], B-flat major, $\frac{3}{8}$, ternary aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 39].
97–103. "Ah no, non m'agitate" [Alina], A major, $\frac{4}{4}$, through-composed aria. Short score [Libretto: p. 40].
104. "Oh teneressa, oh fede" [Alberto & Alina], D major/B-flat major, $\frac{4}{4}$, recitative. Short score [Libretto: p. 43].
104–108. "Più de me felice" [Alberto & Alina], E-flat major, $\frac{2}{4}$, two-part through-composed duet. Short score [Libretto: p. 44].
109. March. C major, ¢. Short score [Libretto: p. 47].

Although the opera was advertised as "an entirely New Opera from the French" by the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on March 9, both the published score and libretto refer to the work only as a serious opera. Given the state of Franco-British relations at this time, it is not surprising that Longman & Broderip did not raise that particular red flag before potential buyers with the score publication. In truth, much of the first and third acts followed standard *opera seria* musical conventions, leaving the second act for dance to play a significant role. Unfortunately, assessing the role that dance played in the opera is difficult when not all of the dance music was published, and the published libretto does not indicate all of the places where dance was performed.

The overture consists of four movements. The first is cast as the exposition of a sonata form only, followed by an extended coda. Rauzzini explores crescendo techniques to create drama in the music and is successful, even if the melodies do not have the strongest profile. The gracious central Andante is typical of the pastoral music in which Rauzzini excelled. The first of the two marches investigates some novel rhythmic effects and was used to accompany the Golcondan characters as they entered the stage. The second march was military in nature and served to announce the entrance of Rauzzini in the character of Alberto, with his English retinue. If the overture is not necessarily Rauzzini at his most inspired, it still served its purpose well and contains sufficient contrasts and effective harmonies to be effective.

Rauzzini responded well to the varying demands of the libretto with each act being contrasted musically. The first act is martial in character and closer to traditional *opera seria* than is the second act. The arias in act 1 reflect this tradition, with many demands in the area of florid singing. It is significant to note that Rauzzini composed far more passagework in the arias in the first act of *La regina di Golconda* than he had in earlier works, such as *Piramo e Tisbe* and *Le ali d'Amore*, that were not in the *opera seria* genre. The opening aria, "Di questo lieto giorno," is entrusted to the second man, Vincenzio Bartolini, in the character of Usbek. The aria is meant both to praise Queen Alina and portray the magnificence of Golconda. This ternary aria provided the singer with the opportunity to display his *messa di voce* on a held g″ for five measures. This demanding passage comes at the end of the aria and follows four measures of

triplet writing. This test of his singing was followed, without rest, by the coda, which features leaps in rather a Mozartean fashion. Bartolini might have been playing second man to Rauzzini in the character of Alberto, but the vocal demands of the music remain considerable.

Rauzzini's return to the stage had been a matter of speculation in London. He needed to make a grand entrance to silence his enemies. As Alberto, an English General, he was undertaking the kind of role that had never played to his strengths in the previous decade, but now, nearing forty, he may have felt that he stood a better chance of success if he composed his own music. His entrance aria, "Son guerrier e non pavento" (As a warrior, fear is foreign to me, and let the hostile squadrons approach), is carefully constructed to present a strong and positive image of a military figure. The singer needed to prove that he still had a voice of operatic proportions. As noted in chapter 1, there is one scale passage which ascends to b″. This note is released immediately, however, and the voice part drops an octave and a half (see ex. 1.2 above). This would appear to have been his attempt at making a "big" effect, vocally, however briefly. With Pacchierotti appearing in other operas that season, Rauzzini likely felt that he needed to appear worthy of singing in the same theater. The reality was that the aria is as much an opportunity to demonstrate his contralto range, with its frequent descents below c′, than it is about isolated top notes. The amount of coloratura passagework in the first act is surprising when compared with his earlier operas. While these passages do not, in themselves, necessarily invoke a military atmosphere, Rauzzini's use of strong rhythmic gestures in the accompaniment gives much momentum to the music.

The florid traditions of *opera seria* are also found in the arias for other characters in this act. Signora Carnevale (singing the role of Queen Alina) must have had a particularly high and flexible voice. Her opening aria, "Per un almo innamorata," has passagework which takes the singer up to c‴. This aria, as with "Son guerrier e non pavento," invites further vocal showmanship with an elaborate cadenza. The opening text might not initially seem to invite such a florid setting; however, the second part of the text, "My soul in extacy [*sic*] was hurried away by the sweet accents that fell from his lips," excuses this rather flashy first aria for the character. The same qualities were required from Signora Schinetti (singing the role of Zelia); her short aria which follows in the published score ("Dolce è l'immagine") also requires fearless ascents to c‴.

The published libretto describes the setting of act 2 as follows:

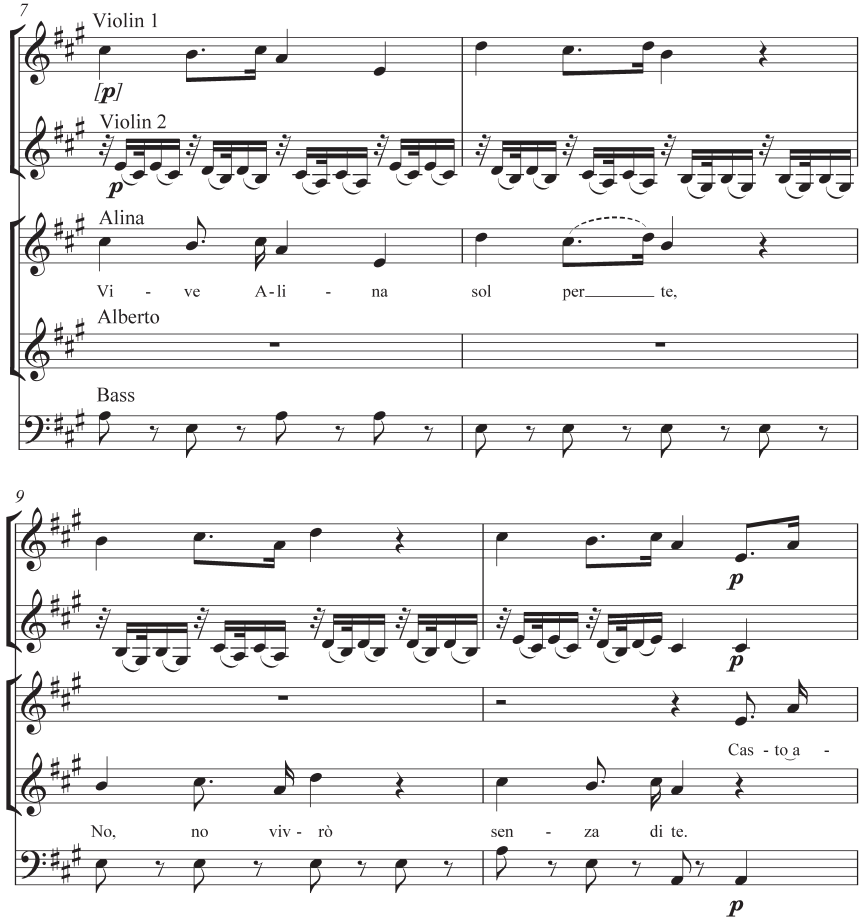
> A pleasant grove, the morning star reflecting its rays upon it. A cottage on one side, and on the other side an elegant country seat. A bridge formed of trunks of trees thrown over a small river. After a symphony, expressing the appearance of the morning star, the several gradations of motion and life, occasioned in nature by the day and light, the warbling of birds, the murmur of gentle breezes through the trees, and everything that can announce a

most happy day.—Alberto astonished to find himself in a place so exactly like his own village, expresses his surprize [*sic*].

The act begins with a long, multi-movement *scena*. The pastoral nature of the scene allowed Rauzzini, both as a composer and singer, to present himself in a position of strength. The opening symphony contains the delicate rustling sounds of the breeze and bird calls. Alberto's awakening is particularly well handled, and his subsequent scene (beginning with the cavatina, "La terra, il ciel le piante") portrays his recognition of the recreation of his homeland. The musical style of the music again may owe some indebtedness to Gluck's *Orfeo* (without making any direct borrowings), but the music is none the worse for it.[55] Alberto's surprise and confusion are aptly portrayed in the recitative that follows with its numerous changes of tempo. The scene builds in intensity as Alberto, having been so graphically reminded of his lost love, now despairs of ever seeing Alina again: "Alina—oh dolce nome! Ah, ch'io ti chiamo invano! Un immense oceano mi divide date [Alina—O name for ever dear! in vain I call thee, an immense ocean separates us]." Alina's reveal is also handled in recitative and once again shows Rauzzini's ability to portray shifting emotions in musical terms. After the demonstration of coloratura in his big first-act aria, the writing in this scene may seem restrained, but Rauzzini's sensitivity to mood and text is more appropriate to the moment than empty roulades.

The joy experienced by the couple in their reunion is expressed in the duet "Vive Alina sol per te." This duet was particularly appreciated by audiences of the day and was even given a separate publication. After echoing phrases of love and devotion, the vocal lines settle into the expected passages in thirds and sixths ("Fra le braccia del mio bene sempre lieta io goderò"). Binding the whole duet together is a rhythmically active accompanying figure that had been earlier heard when Alina revealed herself to Alberto. This projects the couple's joy at being reunited most effectively.

The arias in the second act are quite short, and are highly integrated into the musical fabric as they respond to the subtly changing moods of the text. That for Signora Carnevale ("Fra quest ombre") again requires easy access to the extreme top range of the voice, but the simplicity of the vocal line (and largely syllabic text setting) attempts to create mood rather than vocal thrills. Here, Alina's attempt to make Alberto stay in Golconda is ably matched by an aria which exudes charm, rather than bravura. Without a complete full score of the opera, it is difficult to assess Rauzzini's success in achieving all of his goals. Especially when composing for himself, he appears to have created music with melody being only one part of the larger picture of harmony, orchestration, and texture. While the harmonies are indicated in the published short score, the melodies can appear rather plain, especially without their full orchestral clothing. That said, there is a great deal of dialogue between the two characters in the second act which maintains a sense of natural flow and conversational ease in the musical setting.

Example 5.4. Rauzzini, *La regina di Golconda*, "Vive Alina sol per te," mm. 7–16.

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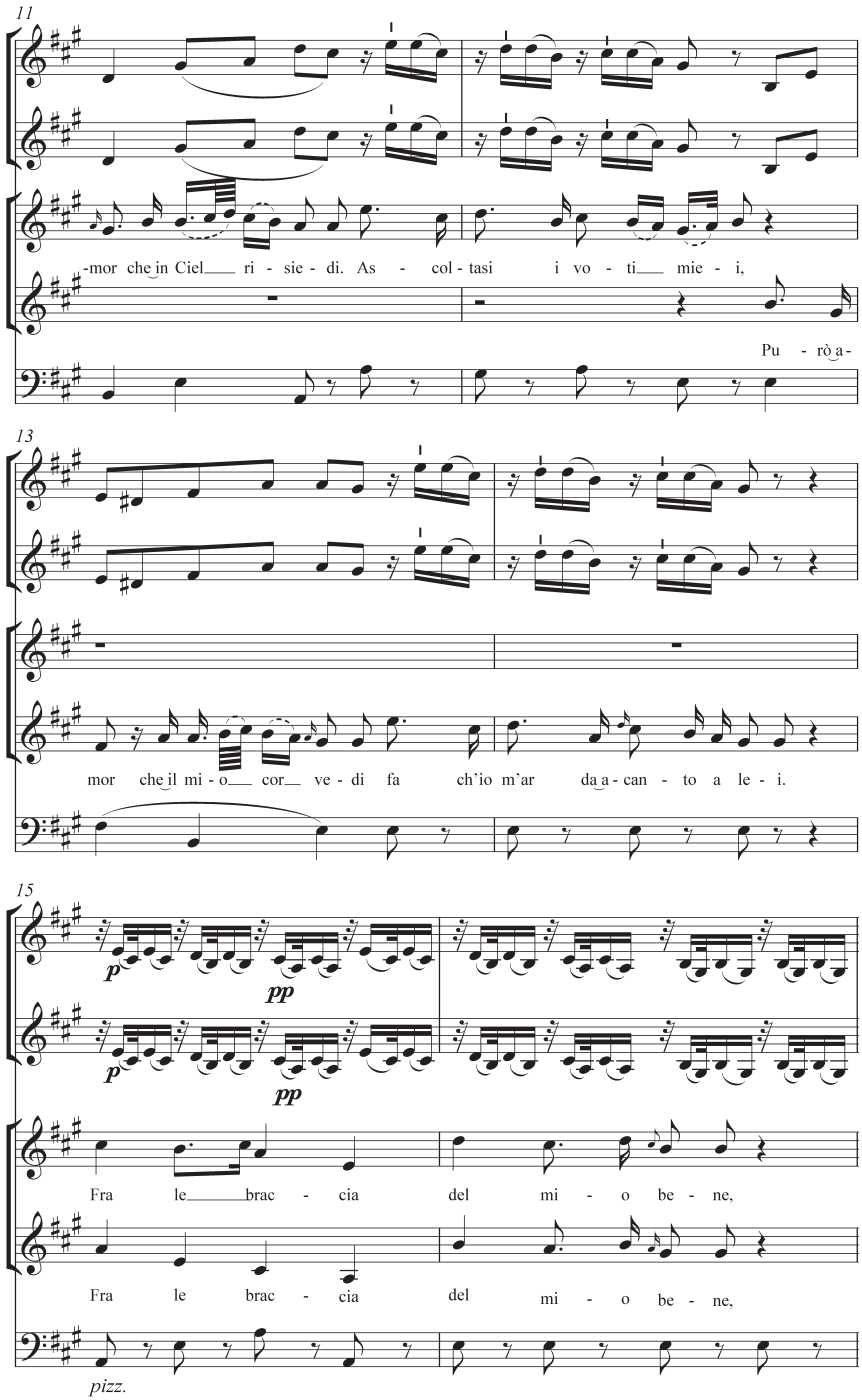

11
-mor che in Ciel ri - sie - di. As - col - tasi i vo - ti mie - i,
Pu - rò a -
13
mor che il mi - o cor ve - di fa ch'io m'ar da a - can - to a le - i.
15
p
pp
p
pp
Fra le brac - cia del mi - o be - ne,
Fra le brac - cia del mi - o be - ne,
pizz.

Given that the opera was advertised as having a French antecedent, one might question whether or not Rauzzini was attempting to copy the French operatic style in this act. Commenting on the extremely negative review in the *New Spectator* (mentioned above), Price, Milhous, and Hume accurately state that *La regina di Golconda* "was hardly the first Italian opera presented at the King's Theatre that partook of *opéra-ballet* conventions."[56] Indeed, the suppression of simple recitative in favor of accompanied forms and the continuous flow of music that incorporated singing and dance were hardly new. Gluck had been integrating these elements in his operas since *Orfeo* (1762), and his music was known in Britain, although *Orfeo* had been out of the repertory at the King's Theatre for just over a decade. Given that Rauzzini is not known to have sung in French opera, one would have to question just how many French operas he knew. If there are French influences in the opera, they are likely by way of Gluck and Sacchini, both of whom were influenced by French traditions.

Dance played an integral part in this opera; much of the published score is given over to the dance music. In act 1, dances are mentioned in the published libretto in scenes 4–6, comprising the end of the act. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to identify where some of the published dance music took place in the performances. Presumably, the "Ballo di Guerrieri" found in the score on pp. 26–27 was performed at the beginning of scene 4.[57] Although the libretto does indicate that dance took place *during* the choral singing in this act, it is unfortunate that the choral music was not published. This makes assessing the relationship between dance and choral singing more difficult. More easily identified is the placement of the material found on pages 28–29 of the published score, which was danced by Madame Théodore d'Auberval and Mr. Le Picq. The music is cast as an extended minuet and trio and may have been danced to the following action: "A company of Golconda youths and damsels, forming a merry dance, present the English officers with nosegays. A young damsel, distinguished among the others for her figure, presents Alberto with a bunch formed of precious jewels, and with another of natural soporiferous flowers, of most exquisite fragrancy, by order of the Queen."[58] Given the length of the events, it is likely that the *gavotta* which follows on pp. 30–33 was also performed at this time. The vigorous rhythmic nature of the music is well matched by the use of dynamic contrasts. Both the minuet and the *gavotta* are particularly successful examples of dance music and exude vitality and charm. This leaves the final Allegro on pp. 33–35 to accompany the end of the scene when Alberto, having been put into a deep sleep by the flowers, "is placed on a palanquin, and covered immediately with a thin veil. The Queen's retinue, finding their sovereign's plan effectuated, . . . express their joy of that event by a dance, which terminates the First Act."[59] The music for this part of the ballet, with its use of pizzicato and restrained dynamics, would appear to have been well suited for the removal of the sleeping Alberto from the stage.

The second act likely contained even more dancing, beginning with scene 3. The similarity to French *opéra-ballet* is particularly strong here as shown by the final scene of the act, with its close integration of choral singing, decorative airs and dancing. The scene begins with a "company of shepherds and shepherdesses [who] begin a dance, with garlands in their hands" (p. 29); this is presumably the *Ballo di Pastori* found on pp. 56–57 of the published score. The integration of dance with solo and choral singing continues, with a dance for M. Vestris and Mme. Théodore d'Auberval, likely represented by the music on pp. 62–63 of the score, which is cast as an extended rondo; even the much reduced published score reveals Rauzzini's interest in creating "high" textures and other effects. The score confirms published reports of Rauzzini's abilities as a composer of dance music. The trio "Fugge amor i tetti d'oro" was also danced at the same time. Perhaps the most interesting dance in the scene is cast as a type of allegorical dance that the French call *ballet figuré*. Here, the libretto reads as follows:

> The Queen, taken up with the pleasure of entertaining her lover, causes to be represented to him by a dance, allusive to her love, the happiness of a simple innocent life. Wealth is represented by a personage richly dressed, who endeavours with all the allurements of pomp to seduce the simple minds of the innocent shepherds and shepherdesses; but to no purpose. The dance finishes, exhibiting the triumph of love over riches, and every other advantage."[60]

This allegorical ballet can be identified in the score on pp. 74–79, and is an extended sequence of shifting moods reflected in the changing meters and keys. It is unfortunate that the score is reduced to keyboard format at this point, with little sense of Rauzzini's orchestration surviving apart from cues for horn and oboe solos. Still, Rauzzini's acute sensitivity to the needs of dance, as well as his command over the pastoral idiom, is revealed. There are numerous bagpipe effects, and the score carefully differentiates between the use of appoggiatura and acciaccatura. An orchestral movement included in the score on pp. 84–85 is more difficult to place within the scene. The music, a vigorous *Allegro assai* with a contrasting *minore* section, precedes the closing chorus, yet it would not seem to be the correct music to accompany the primary stage movement at this moment: "At the beginning of this Chorus, the shepherds and peasants return to their cottages, expressing in groups, by signs, their great satisfaction."[61]

Unfortunately, not much music was published from the third act. Given that the opera ended with a ballet, it is surprising that no dance music from this act was included. Similarly, no choruses from this act were published, a most unfortunate circumstance as these had the potential for considerable drama. What remains of the music for the act appears to demonstrate a change in style from the pastoral writing in act 2 to more virtuoso expressions. Rauzzini may

have thought that such a change was necessary to compensate for the lack of dramatic action in the first three scenes. It is only at the end of scene 3 that Alberto refuses the proposal of marriage from the masked Alina because his heart still belongs to the humble shepherdess whom he lost many years earlier. Alina then unmasks, revealing herself to be that same shepherdess now raised to royal status. The two lovers are reunited, thereby resolving the plot. Three more scenes follow, with scene 5 containing a grand double chorus with the English soldiers, who do not know what has happened to Alberto, threatening to break down the doors to the palace and the Golcondans promising retaliation from within. All ends happily, but with the final scenes much concerned with choral singing, the choice of solo music from the opening scenes in the publication results in a one-sided view of the music in this act.

The distribution of the solo music in the score is quite democratic throughout as the music that Rauzzini composed for himself does not dominate. In act 3, only the recitative and duet "Più de me felice" contains any music for the character of Alberto. There is some remarkably difficult music for the other singers in the cast, however. Signora Carnovale's "Ah no, non m'agitate" is a through-composed aria that contains extensive passagework requiring fearless ascents to c‴. The aria also contains a concertante violin part, which was played by Wilhelm Cramer. The interplay between the voice and the solo violin results in some attractive "duetting," although the passagework contains little that is new or novel. The opening aria in the act, sung by Bartolini, is similarly complex and contains much passagework. It might appear that Rauzzini was determined to provide as many vocal pyrotechnics as possible to please his audience.

Three years separated this production from that of Rauzzini's final Italian opera, *La vestale*. Seemingly, his only connection to the world of the theater during this time was the composition of incidental music for Frederick Reynold's first play, *Werter*, an adaptation of Gœthe's novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. Reynold's drama was turned down by the managers of both playhouses in London before being accepted for a production at the Theatre Royal, Bath, on December 3, 1785. Unfortunately, Reynold's colorful account of the troubles he faced in getting the work produced does not include any mention of Rauzzini's contribution to its success.[62] Indeed, after the performances in Bath, the manager of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, changed his mind and had the play produced there on March 14, 1786. London audiences were much taken with the pathos of the situations, and the play was revived regularly until 1790, with Rauzzini's *Epithalamium* much appreciated. It is mentioned in the advertisements in the London newspapers, along with the singers taking part. Unfortunately, this music appears now to be lost. How much other music Rauzzini may have composed for the play remains uncertain. While the performance of an overture and act tunes would have been common, the only other mention of music in the printed libretto is in a stage direction: "[Exeunt. *Flourish of music.*]"[63]

La vestale, o sia L'Amore protetto dal cielo (*opera seria* in two acts)

Rauzzini's final opera, *La vestale, o sia L'Amore protetto dal cielo*, was given its premiere on May 1, 1787. The management of the King's Theatre was by now firmly in the hands of Gallini, and the artistic standards of the theater had accordingly improved. Younger composers of great promise, such as Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), presented new works and had made impressive showings in London. Unfortunately for Gallini, as both Cherubini and Anfossi left London at the end of the 1785–86 season, the manager was left rather short of "star" composers for the following season. Of the eight serious operas presented in this season, six were either adaptations of earlier works or pastiches. Gallini turned to Rauzzini for a new opera; *La vestale* was the result. Badini's libretto was not new, for Mattia Vento had set it in 1776 when Rauzzini sang the part of Celer. While the assembled cast included some fine singers, especially Gertrud Elizabeth Mara (1749–1831) as Emilia and Giovanni Rubinelli (1753–1829) as Celer, the production was beset with problems. The opera was scheduled to be given its premiere on April 17, 1787, but had to be delayed because of Mara's illness. The premiere was given on May 1, but the scheduled second performance on May 12 was also postponed, this time because of the indisposition of Rubinelli. Given that the opera season continued until July 5, further performances would appear to have been a possibility; however, none took place. The one positive outcome of this opera was that it united Rauzzini and Mara and resulted in a friendship that lasted until she left Britain in 1802.

The story of the Vestal Virgin who allowed the sacred flame to go out will be most likely known to modern operatic audiences through Spontini's *La vestale*, although the opera is not given frequently, being often seen as a pale version of Bellini's *Norma*. To eighteenth- and nineteenth-century audiences, however, the story had a strong appeal as it was sentimental and had elements of the Gothic. The 1787 published libretto contains an explanatory preface which outlines the history of the Vestal Virgins and their guardianship of the Temple of the Goddess Vesta, as well as the liberties which Badini took with the known history in the course of writing his libretto:

> To heighten the interest of this piece, and for the sake of variety and stage effect, I have followed the general history of the Vestals, without adhering to historic truth in every particular. I have therefore supposed Emilia the daughter of Domitian, though this Emperor never had a daughter, and the only Vestal of the name Emilia, that was put to death, suffered in the time of Cassius Severus. Several Vestals, however, were allied to the Emperors, as, for instance, the Vestal Junia, who was a near relation of Augustus; and Cornelia was buried alive by Domitian's order: From which it appears that my deviations from history are not inconsistent with the rules of dramatic probability.

> The principal score of this drama being to expose the follies of superstition, I have introduced an Oracle, expressed in ambiguous terms, pursuant to the usual form of oracular predictions.—To produce an Italian Opera absolutely free from incongruities, is a task that borders on impossibility; yet I hope I shall not be deemed presumptious to think, that the present Opera has a better claim to the indulgence of an English audience than the operatical rhapsodies commonly imported from Italy.[64]

Badini's comment in 1787 that his text had "a better claim to the indulgence of an English audience" follows upon his earlier statement in the 1776 printing of the libretto where he writes of his wish to produce a serious opera worthy of an English audience.

Badini's plot is essentially a tragic love story of lovers separated when Emperor Domitian commands that his daughter, Æmilia, become one of the Vestal Virgins at the Temple of Vesta. Celer, a Roman knight who is in love with Æmilia, breaks into the cloister and convinces her to leave with him. In the process, the sacred flame on the altar is allowed to go out and Æmilia's perfidy is exposed. Both lovers are condemned to being buried alive by Domitian, but Venus, accompanied by Cupid, descends to their horrific cell, and releases them. The text continued to please the critics, although some changes were suggested. The critic of the *Universal Daily Register* [*Times*] wrote on May 3, 1787, that "the poetry is *chaste*—the fable is entertaining—and the performance does infinite credit to the pen of Badini.—La Vestale—would, in our opinion, go off with more effect, if it opened with the *procession*,—the preceding scene is languid and uninteresting."

The performers were given much praise in the review: "Mara—never played better—through struggling with the remains of her—tyrannical indisposition, . . . Rubinelli—did ample justice to the author and composer—the plaudits he received were the best proofs of our affection." At the same time, the reviewer remained resolutely ambivalent toward Rauzzini's composition: "we will not say his *composition* is perfection itself,—part of it would establish the fame of the *first* composer—and part of it might have been written by *any* composer . . . Rubinelli's 'Ah per sempri'—Mara's bravura air—and the trio concluding the first act were worthy of Rauzzini's pen—and met with the general applause they merited."

Other reviews were less flattering. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* reported on May 3, 1787, that "there is some very good music, and it is as well perhaps as the Opera of a mere Italian master can be. It has a good deal of the rondeau style, and there are many passages which are not worse for being familiar to the ear." The old charges of plagiarism and comparisons with the music of Sacchini continued to color critical perceptions. An unidentified cutting from a newspaper in the New York Public Library states that

> the opera has been reset by Signor Rauzzini, who seems to imitate the style of Sacchini with great success. The terzetto, the duet, the rondeau of Rubinelli,

> and the second song of Madam Mara, discover an uncommon share of musical genius in the composer, and were admirably executed. We never saw an opera at the King's Theatre decorated with more splendour than *La Vestale*, nor fitted up with more decorum and propriety.[65]

At best, most reviewers found the work to be uneven in inspiration; Rauzzini can hardly have been pleased to read that he was a Sacchini imitator, a "mere Italian master," or that "part of it might have been written by *any* composer." That he took some of these comments to heart may be reflected in the fact that he revised some of the music in the period between the two performances. The *Universal Daily Register* [*Times*] records on May 21, 1787, that "the train of La Vestale is shortened considerably, and now unencumbered with former exuberances, she will the more easily mount into fame." Alas, such fame never manifested itself. After two performances, the work disappeared from the repertory, Charles Burney reflecting that "La Vestale, which from our long acquaintance with [Rauzzini's] taste and style, was heard with less attention, perhaps, than it deserved."[66] This was hardly the happiest note on which to end Rauzzini's operatic career; however, he may have taken some joy in the successful return of his former student Nancy Storace to the King's Theatre, fresh from her triumph in creating the role of Susanna in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*.

No music appears to have been published from this opera, surely an indication that it had been perceived to be a failure. Fortunately, three arias survive in manuscript at the Royal College of Music in London, in copies made for Rauzzini's friend James Windsor.[67] All were sung by Madame Mara in the role of Emilia. It would appear that Rauzzini counted on Mara's great technical ability to make a considerable effect, as these arias are indeed difficult. That she sang them at a time when she was recovering from an indisposition is testament to her stamina and will power. The manuscript copies reveal significant textual differences to the published libretto yet, given their provenance, they must be considered to be authentic. The first of the arias, "Spende a rei," cannot even be found in the printed libretto. It is possible that it was either a late addition to the score composed after the libretto had been printed, or that it resulted from the changes introduced to the second performance. In any case, the music is of the greatest interest. The aria is a bravura setting with obbligato parts for violin, cello, clarinet, and horn. Although thematically the music does not recall "Marten aller arten" from Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, one wonders if Rauzzini knew of the music and tried his hand at composing an aria of similar proportions with a quartet of concertante instruments to please Mara. The aria begins with a long orchestral introduction similar to that of the Mozart aria. Thereafter, the music demands great virtuosity on the part of the singer, with a high tessitura, a range of d′–e‴, and passagework of up to eight measures in length.

The remaining two arias are equally demanding. "Ah! quelle dure leggi / Senza i dolci interni" is a three-part *scena* in act 2, scene 3. After a long and varied

recitative, the aria, "Senza i dolci," is cast as a Larghetto in E major. This is followed by a proto-cabaletto (*Allegro con spirito*) that is set to text not found in the printed libretto, "Sventurata sono nata." The music is highly florid and has a range of e′–d‴. This aria is demanding, but it pales in comparison to the bravura aria found in act 1, scene 10, "Son vestale e sono amante." Here, Rauzzini took Mara into the realms of the Queen of the Night with a two-octave scale passage rising to f‴. Elsewhere, the demands of the aria are considerable with long passagework and frequent ascents above c‴. On the basis of these three arias, it would appear that Rauzzini counted on Mara's technical abilities to win over audiences.

Non-operatic Compositions of the 1780s

Rauzzini continued to compose non-operatic music throughout the decade of the 1780s. While talented amateurs would have found this music attractive for domestic use, it is also likely that professionals found some of this output useful for concert purposes. Given that Rauzzini was twice imprisoned for debt, it is likely that the income from these publications was much needed. This last consideration may have influenced some of his compositional choices. There is a surprising absence of large-scale works such as concertos and symphonies in his output. The concert listings in appendix A sometimes refer to a symphony by Rauzzini, but in the absence of manuscript materials it must be presumed that this was his earlier *Sinfonia in D*, the final movement of which had served as the overture to *Piramo e Tisbe*. The Bath newspapers sometimes called on Rauzzini to compose a concerto for the clarinettist John Mahon but this seemingly never occurred. His decision not to compose concertos and symphonies may have resulted from the recognition that there was less sales potential in the publication of such works compared with individual songs, arias, chamber music, or collections of shorter pieces.

Four sets of music were published in the 1780s, evenly divided between instrumental and vocal works. A list of the published compositions follows:

Opus 12: *Three Grand Duets; for two performers* . . . London: Beardmore & Birchall, 1783.

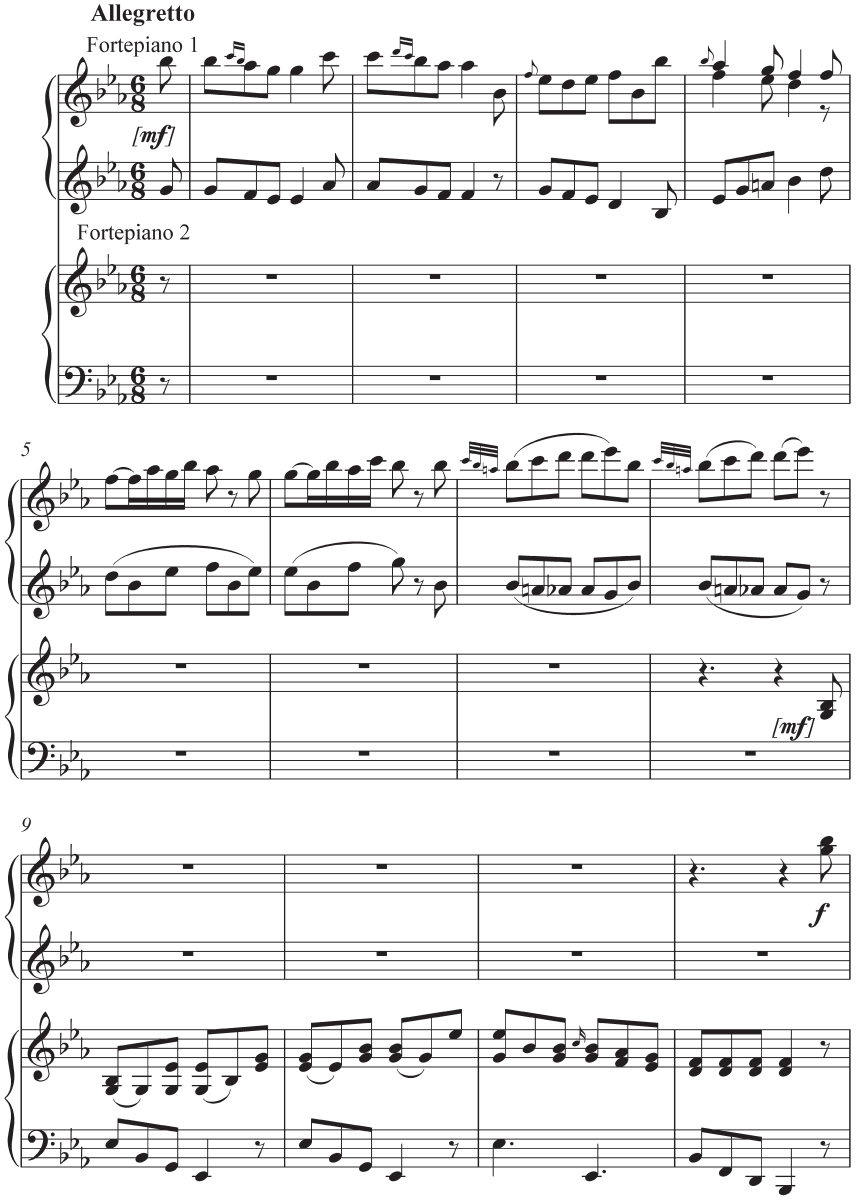
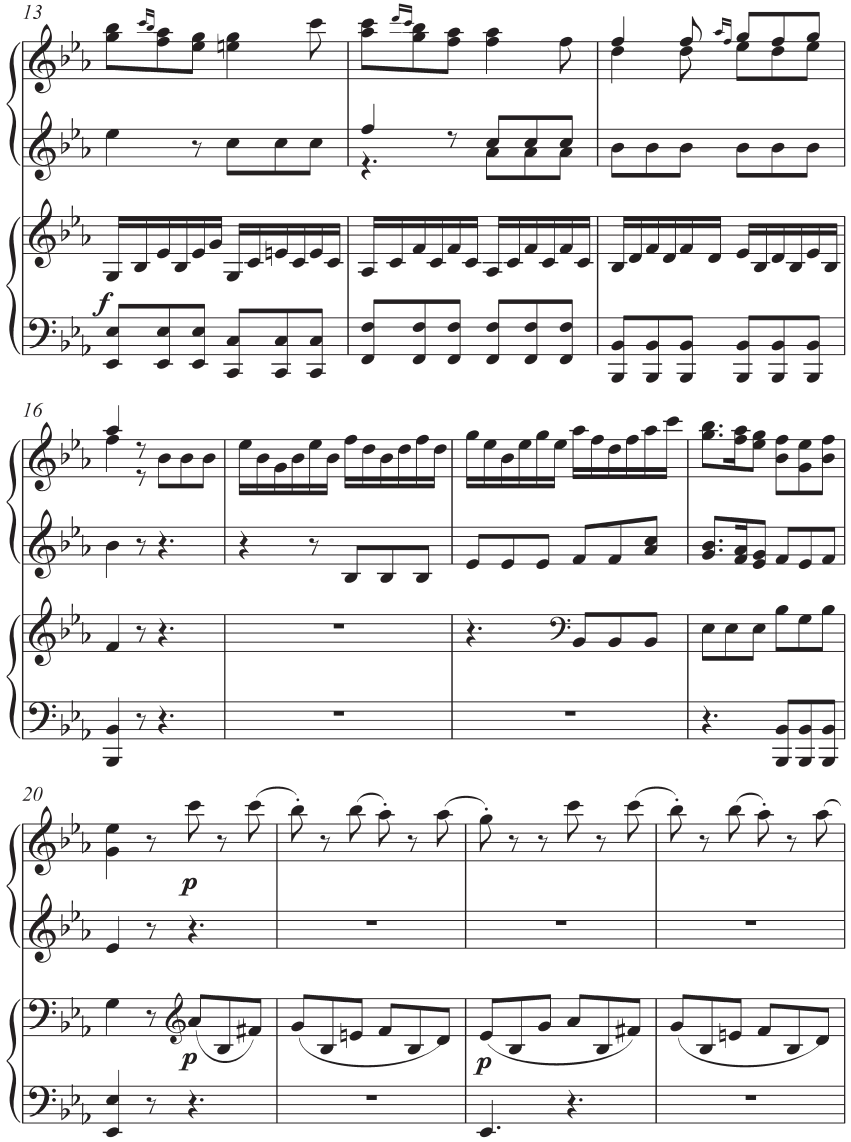
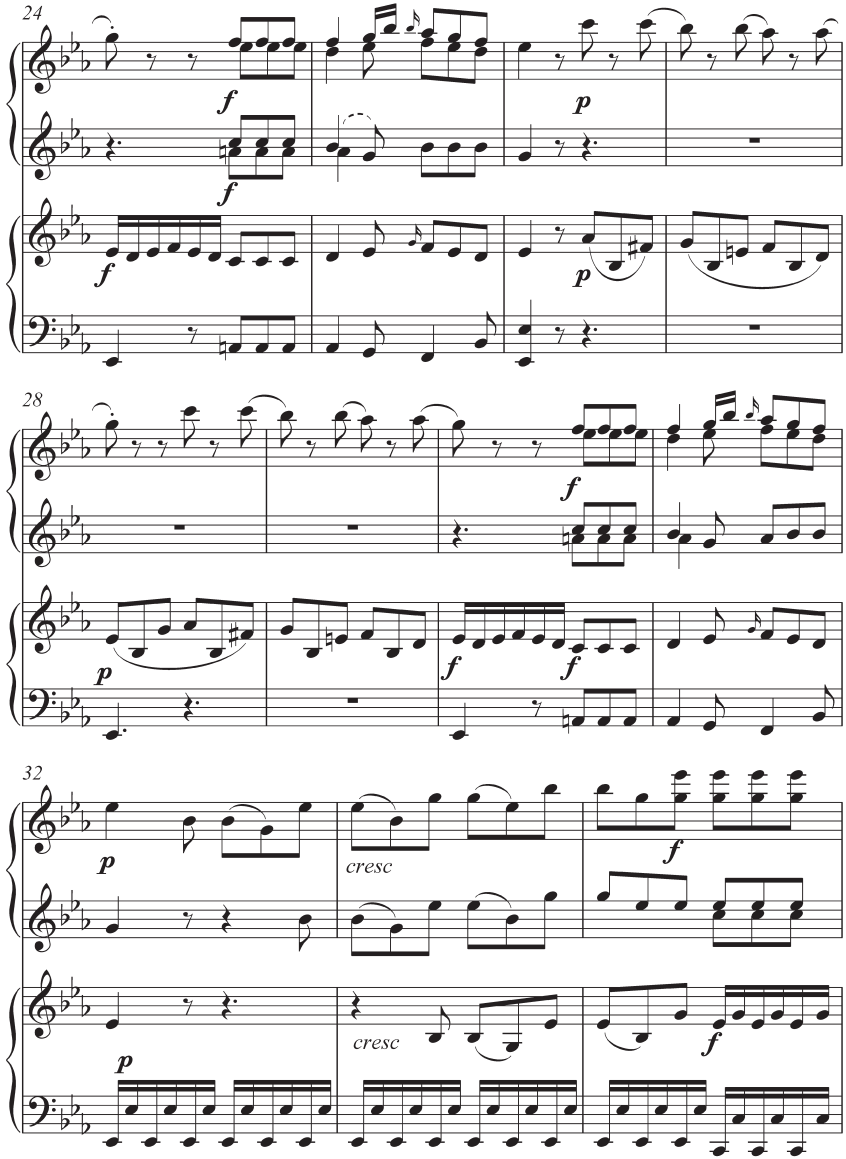
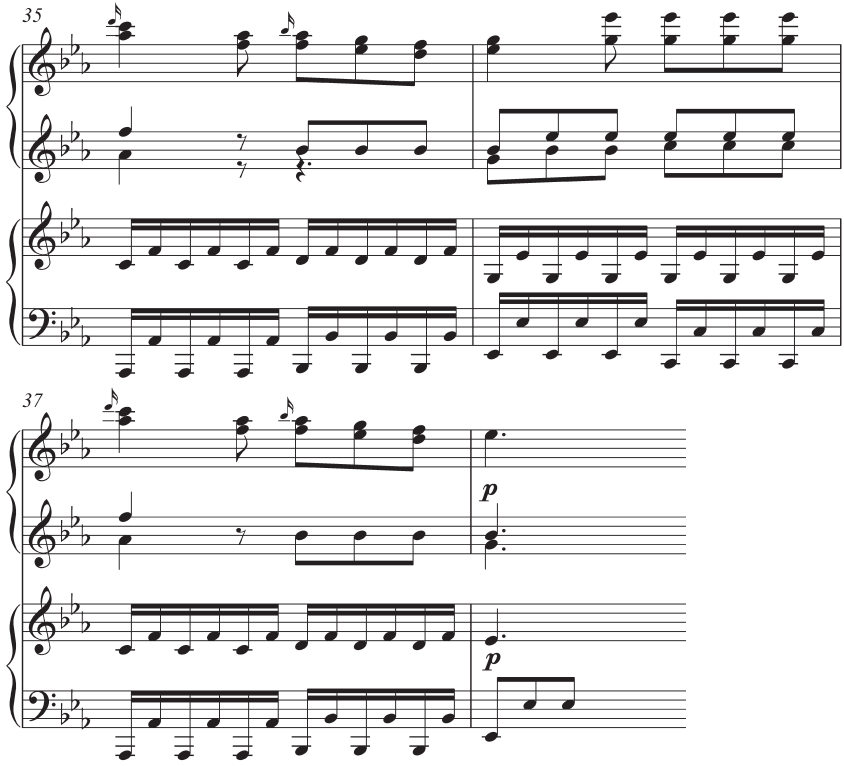
Opus 13: *Four Favourite Italian Duets for a Voice . . . also, Four Easy Airs.* London: R. Birchall, [1784].

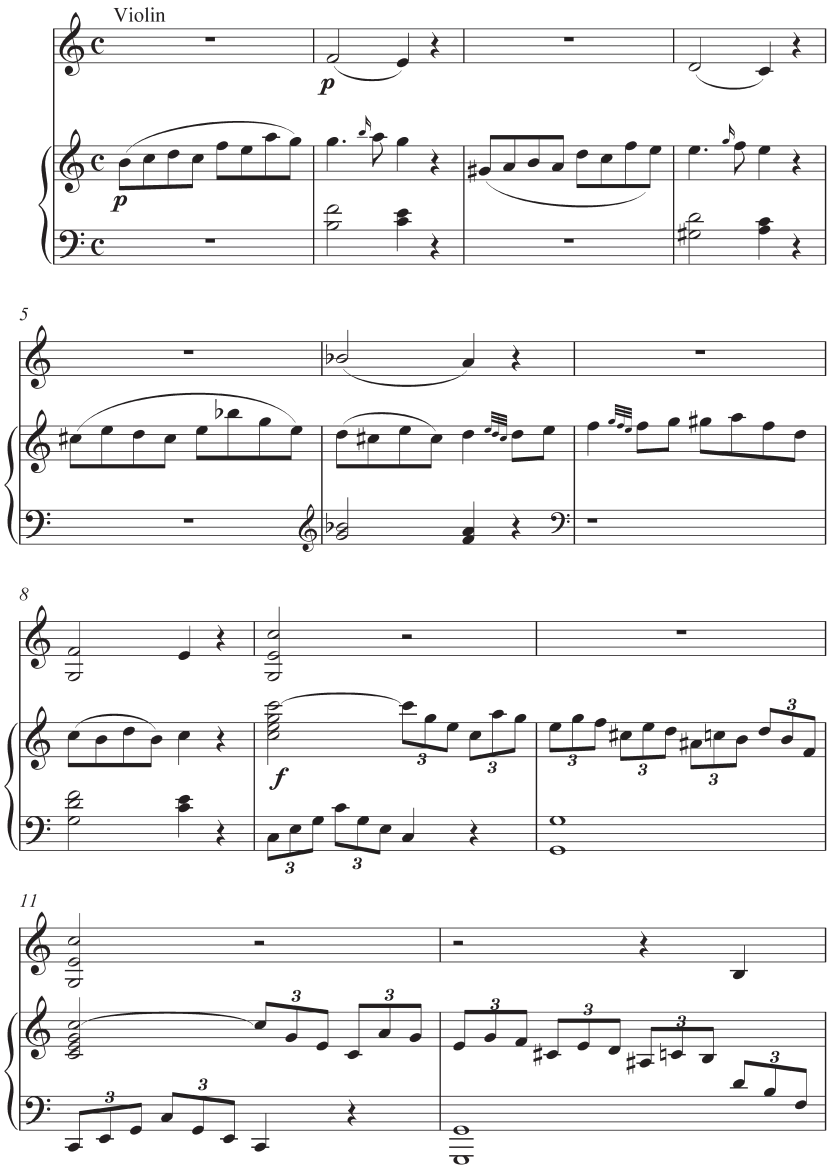
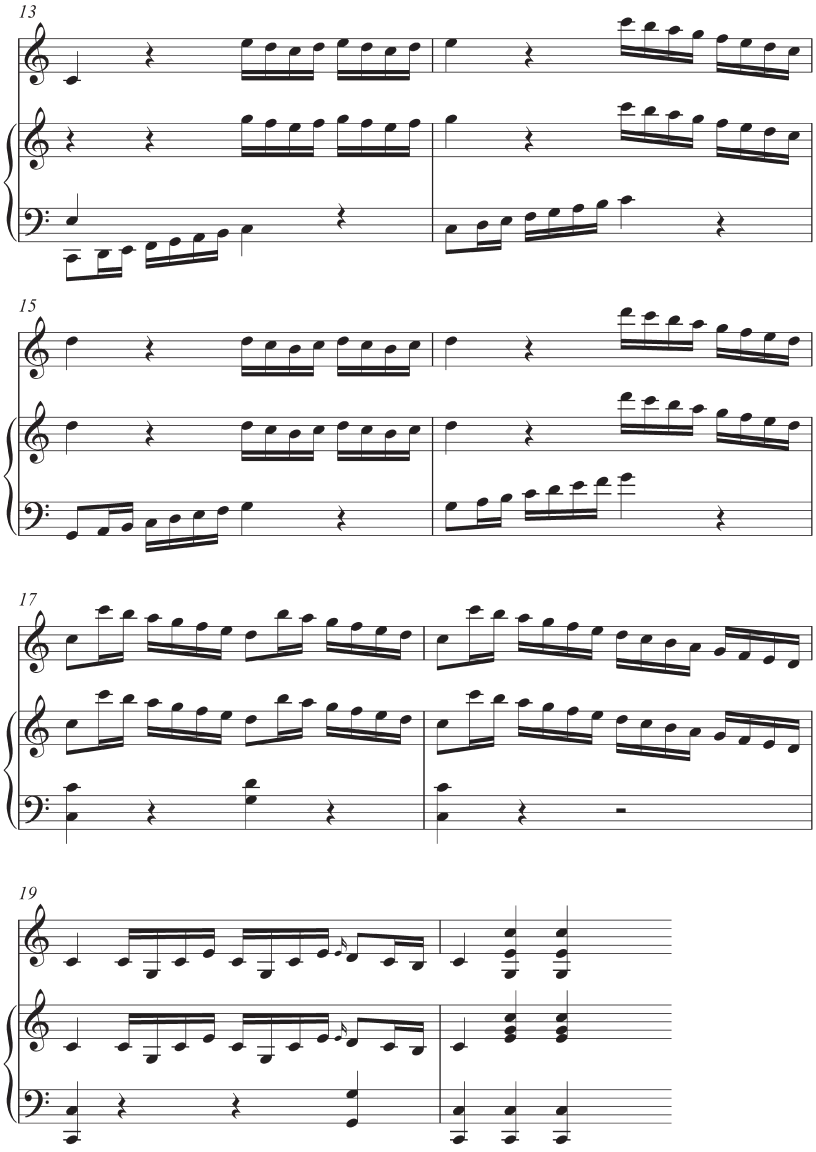
Opus 14: *Six Italian Canzonets, with an Accompanyment for the Piano Forte.* London: J. Bland, [1785].

Opus 15: *Three sonatas and a Duet for the Harpsichord or Piano-forte with an Accompanyment for the Violin Ad Libitum.* London: Birchall and Andrews, [1786]. These sonatas were subsequently reissued by Goulding & Co. in London, ca. 1800.

Of the instrumental works, the keyboard duets would appear to have had the greatest domestic utility. Surprisingly, not many copies appear to have survived of Rauzzini's op. 12, even though an edition was also released in Paris in 1783.[68] These duets are typical of much of the music conceived for home music-making in that they contain attractive, ornate melodies that do not require virtuoso technical abilities, yet have considerable rhythmic energy and high spirits. Although the harpsichord is mentioned as a possible performance medium, the numerous dynamic markings (including crescendo) reveal that the fortepiano is far better suited to the music. It appears that Rauzzini attempted to appeal to a variety of tastes in this collection as the three duets are highly contrasted. The first duet, in F major, consists of two movements, an Allegro and a Rondo of considerable proportions, in the *galant* idiom. The music is cheerful, although not particularly deep, but it likely had a strong appeal for amateur keyboardists. The second duet, in D major, is rather a different situation. Cast in three movements (Largo, Minuetto, Allegretto), the music is highly abstract and quite serious in tone. Even the more outgoing Allegretto has a long central section in the parallel minor. Although cast strict in forms, there are moments in this duet which sound improvisatory, and the harmonies are rich and often chromatic.[69] The *galant* idiom returns in the third duet, in C major. It begins with a movement that has no tempo marking, but is most likely an Allegro, which is followed by a rondo called an "aria." The rondo theme may have folk origins, but coupled with the gently undulating accompanying passages still creates a hypnotic effect.

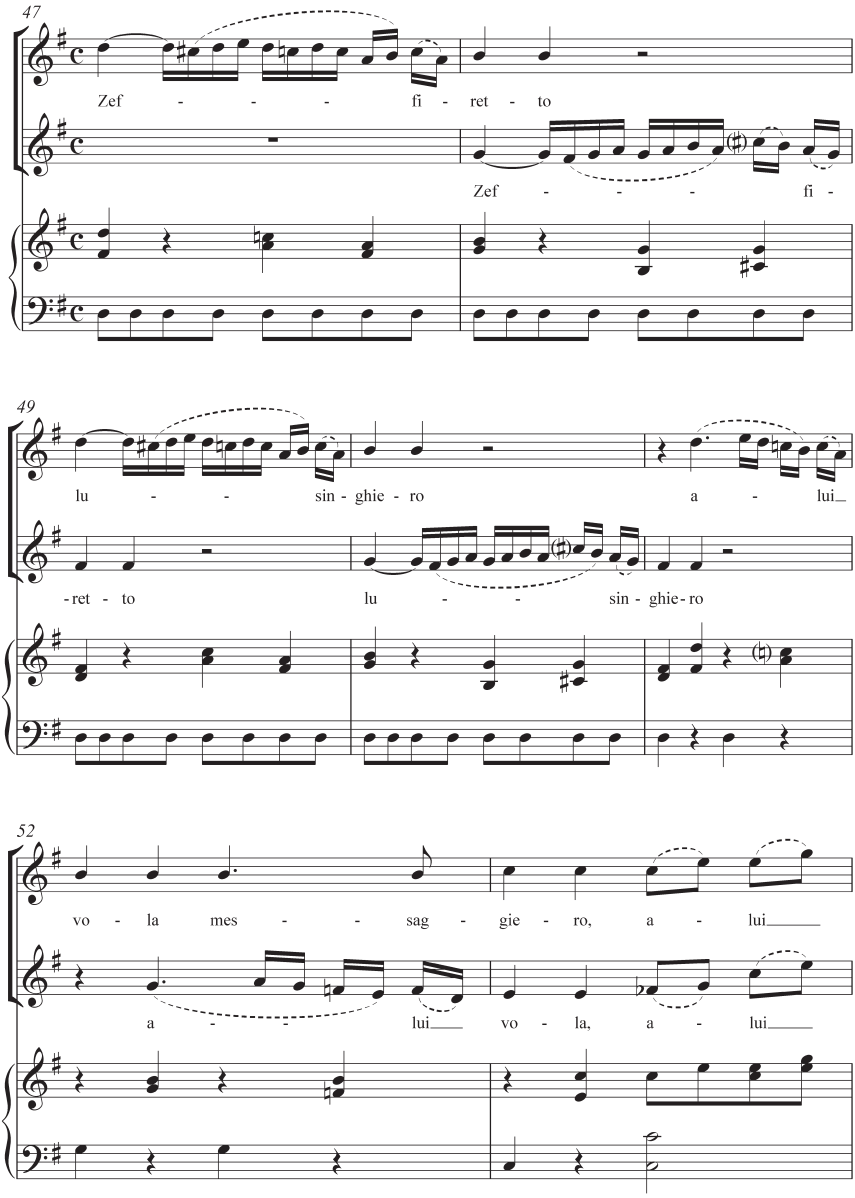
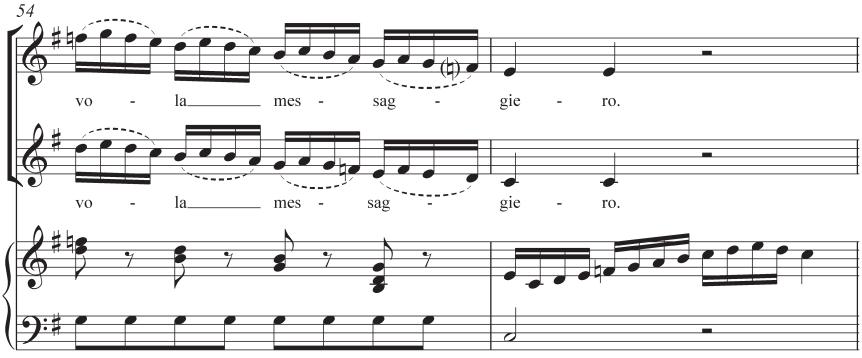
Three keyboard sonatas with violin accompaniment were published by the London-based firm of Birchall and Andrews in 1786 as Rauzzini's op. 15. Curiously, the collection ends with a keyboard duet in E flat. This duet is newly composed, and is not a reprint of any part of the op. 12 collection. It was also published as a separate item, perhaps an indication of its popularity:[70] this engaging music manages to capture the best attributes of all three of the previous duets. As opposed to music solely concerned with thematic development, Rauzzini presents numerous thematic and textural contrasts in two movements (Allegro and Allegretto) that become cornucopias of attractive melodies underscored with interesting and unexpected harmonies. Even given the restrictions of composing four-hand music for the narrow compass of the fortepiano, Rauzzini manages to vary his textures sufficiently to provide musical contrasts. Many of the musical gestures are similar to those found in Mozart's Duet Sonata in B-flat major K. 358, but without that composer's memorable rococo melodies. Rauzzini's melodies are more elusive, borrowing as much from the expressive tradition as that of the rococo. The results are intriguing and can still offer enjoyment in modern times, although the lack of true musical argument is to be regretted.

Example 5.5. Rauzzini, Keyboard Duet in E flat, op. 15, second movement, mm. 1–38.

Example 5.5.—*(continued)*

Example 5.5.—*(continued)*

Example 5.5.—*(concluded)*

The three sonatas for violin and keyboard in the op. 15 collection continue the approach utilized by Rauzzini in his earlier works in this genre. The violin part is advertised as being "ad libitium" on the title page and at the beginning of the second and third sonatas. The absence of the term on the first sonata would appear to be a printer's error, for the music has been conceived so that it can be played with the keyboard only and still make musical sense. Throughout the collection violin writing often doubles the right hand part or fills in harmonies between the two hands of the keyboard. Rauzzini still adheres to the polythematic binary sonata form which he used in his op. 1 sonatas, which now seems very old-fashioned. What has changed by comparison with his early works is his more adventurous harmonies and melodies which have a stronger profile and a greater sense of drama than those of 1777. Example 5.6 demonstrates this tendency with the opening of the first sonata in this collection. This sonata stands apart from Rauzzini's other sonatas in his use of multiple dance movements: a Polonese [*sic*], Trio, and a *Minuetto Ballabbile.* Given that each of these short movements have indications for repeats, the result is a structure of considerable proportions.[71]

Example 5.6. Rauzzini, Sonata in C, op. 15, no. 1, mm. 1–20.

Example 5.6.—*(concluded)*

The two collections of vocal music from this period were also intended for the domestic market. The op. 13 publication is rather a mismatched collection in terms of its level of difficulty. The combination of the *Four Favourite Italian Duets for the Voice* along with the *Four Easy Airs* might have been the invention of the publisher, Birchall. The connecting link in this collection that covers thirty-three oblong folio pages is the fully developed keyboard parts, with several of the pieces having significant keyboard introductions and postludes. A review in the *European Magazine* commented, "As great beauty and elegance are conspicuous in this work, those who are attached to the Italian School will find equal amusement and entertainment in it. The last two airs in particular are charming."[72] Comparison of this collection with those published by Rauzzini only six years earlier reveals how effective the simple but expressive written-out accompaniments are.

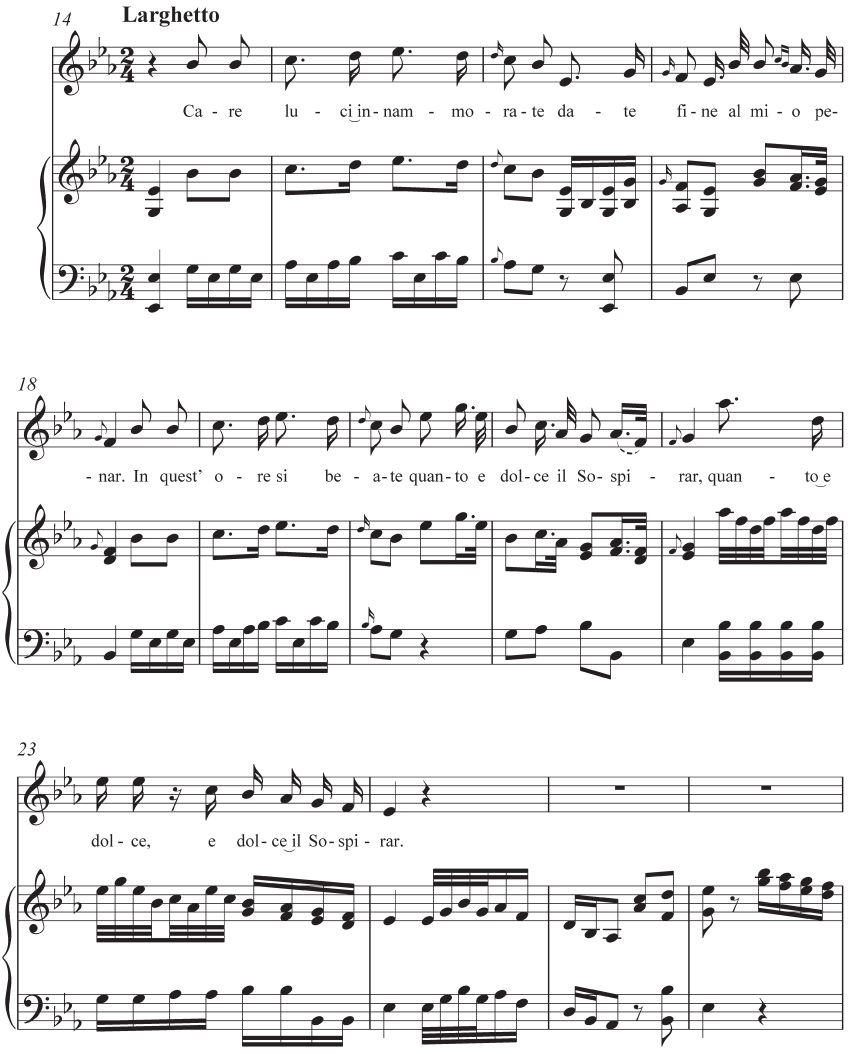
The duets are conceived for two high voices, although the second voice is usually in a somewhat lower tessitura, and there are lower options in the second duet for an alto voice.[73] While writing in thirds and sixths is heard, the voice parts are far more independent than those found in Rauzzini's op. 5 duet collection of 1778. There are some canonic entries in the 1784 duets, although the textures are not primarily contrapuntal. Passagework is required from both singers, and each has opportunities for brief moments of solo singing. While the upper range of the music does not exceed a″, these duets require a developed technique and good breath control. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the first, second, and fourth duets is Rauzzini's use of a fully recapitulatory sonata form with binary repeats. The opening of the development passage of the first duet is found in example 5.7. The four airs in the collection may be described as "easy" in the publication, but they are certainly not for beginners.[74] The collective range of the airs in the collection is d′–b″ and, while there are few coloratura demands, the general tessitura is high. There are a variety of forms used, with the first air being set as a ternary form and the third as a rondo. The remaining two airs are cast as *da capo* forms, and the third and fourth airs, in particular, are quite operatic. An excerpt from the third air, "Care lusci innammorate," is found in example 5.8, where the interplay of the accompaniment with the voice is particularly effective. The pedagogical value of this collection remains as strong today as it was in 1784. The keyboard parts are fully realized, thereby giving adequate support to those singers with less performing experience. The duets, in particular, are of value for young singers to gain experience in ensemble singing.

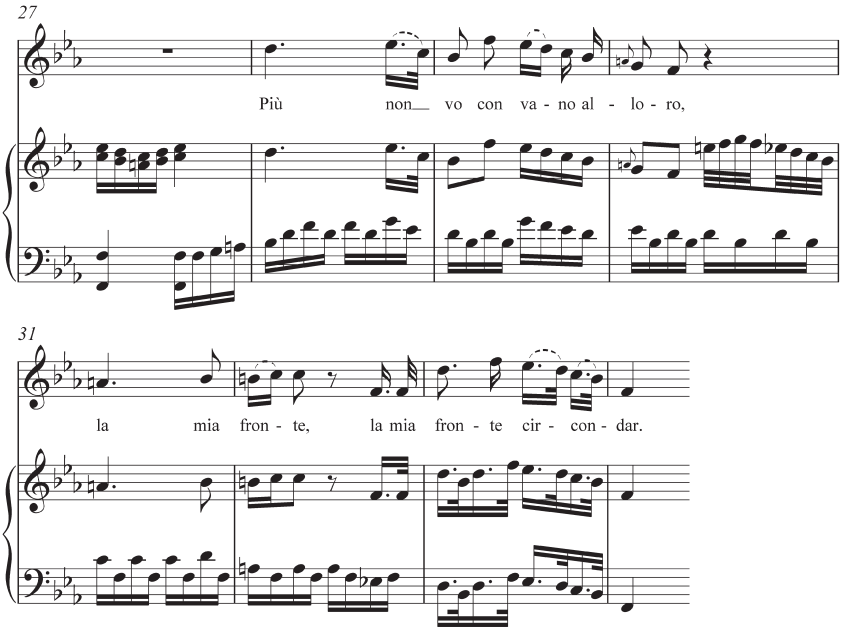
The title page of *Six Italian Canzonets, with an Accompanyment for the Piano-Forte* has the word "Op." on it, but the engraver never entered the number.[75] This is one of the missing opus numbers in Rauzzini's output. It is my conjecture, based on the style of the music, that it is op. 14, of 1785.[76] The keyboard writing is fully developed, without recourse to any other accompanying instruments. The level of difficulty varies considerably from one song to the next. Some have a medium tessitura and few vocal demands; others, however, are far

Example 5.7. Rauzzini, *Four Favourite Italian Duets / Four Easy Airs*, Duet no. 1, "Ombre Amene, Amiche piante," mm. 47–55.

Example 5.7.—*(concluded)*

more difficult and demand agility and access to the high range. The final song, "Va, della danza e l'ora," for example, has held notes and passagework that ascends to b♭″.

Throughout this decade, Rauzzini had divided his time between Bath and London. He worked hard to establish the concert series in Bath on a firm footing, but appears to have hoped for an even greater success as an operatic composer in London. Unfortunately, the hopes for a London success were sabotaged on several fronts. The dispute between Rauzzini and Sacchini was damaging to both of their reputations and was particularly unfortunate given that the controversy appears to have been largely constructed by the London press. Whatever the truth behind the accusations may have been, the situation was blown out of all proportions by partisan groups. At the same time, the working conditions at the King's Theatre had disintegrated to the point where it must have been difficult to produce any new opera successfully. When there were conflicting management teams, times when the singers and musicians did not get paid, lawsuits, and appeals to the general public for financial support, energies were being expended in non-creative ways.

There can be little doubt that, from the perspective of critics and audiences of the period, Rauzzini's operas were not runaway successes. His musical style was not best suited to heroic topics, and this appears to have disappointed a segment of the audience. Had Rauzzini continued with subjects such as that found in his *Le ali d'Amore* or *L'omaggio di paesani*, it is possible that he might have enjoyed greater success. At the same time, his attempt to bridge French and Italian traditions is worthy of recognition as being innovative. Ultimately, with operatic success eluding him in London, Bath became Rauzzini's home. In addition to directing the concerts there, he continued composing and devoted much time to teaching. These activities will be examined in greater detail in the chapters that follow. Rauzzini's days in Bath came at its apex as a social and cultural centre, making it an ideal location for him to forge the final phase of his career.

Example 5.8. Rauzzini, *Four Favourite Italian Duets / Four Easy Airs*, Air no. 3, "Care lusci innammorate," mm. 14–34.

14
Larghetto
Ca - re lu - ci in - nam - mo - ra - te da - te fi - ne al mi - o pe-
18
- nar. In quest' o - re si be - a - te quan - to e dol - ce il So - spi - rar, quan - to e
23
dol - ce, e dol - ce il So - spi - rar.

Example 5.8.—*(concluded)*

Chapter Six

A Life in Bath

Rauzzini's decision to focus a significant part of his artistic life in Bath during the decade of the 1780s was entirely logical. He had already become a part of the fabric of the city's musical life with the concerts he co-directed with Franz La Motte from 1777 until 1780. La Motte's death left the city without a star soloist to act as its musical leader. The elder Linley no longer was interested in directing concerts there, and Herschel was turning to astronomical pursuits. This put Rauzzini in a position to take sole leadership of the Bath concerts, a series that did not face the stiff competition that had plagued his concerts in London. While London might offer many attractions, it did not provide Rauzzini regular employment and financial security. Bath appears to have offered him improved prospects in this area, both as a teacher and a concert director, and it was possible for him to live in style rather more cheaply there than in London. The concert series would be crucial to his success in Bath, and for that he need to provide concerts that appealed to the audiences through the participation of famous soloists, but which still had artistic integrity and made a profit. Rauzzini was successful in all of these goals, except the last. For his financial security, he relied on private teaching, and he appears to have taught a large number of students in Bath.

The Development of Bath as a Social and Cultural Centre

The association of Bath with its famed hot springs stretches back into antiquity. Legend has it that the discovery of the healing powers of the mineral springs was made by Prince Bladud, the father of King Lear, in 860 BC. Bladud was ostracized when he developed leprosy and was reduced to a menial position as a swine herder. When his diseased swine were cured after swimming in the hot springs, Bladud followed suit and was cured as well.[1] The legend of the healing properties grew, and people with various illnesses travelled to the area in the hope of being cured. Bath was largely a commercial town in the seventeenth

century, however. Had it not been for the patronage of Charles II, James II, and the latter's daughter Anne, it is unlikely that the city would ever have attracted the attention of the aristocracy. As Kenneth James notes, "the visits of Queen Anne in 1702 and 1703 were of great importance. Thereafter, a visit to 'the Bathe' became fashionable for members of the court, who, in their turn, attracted others who wished to mix socially with them."[2]

To maintain the interest of the aristocracy would require a total transformation of the city to make it an example of elegance and sophistication. During the early years of the eighteenth century, three individuals emerged with the foresight to help in this transformation: Richard "Beau" Nash, a society gambler; Ralph Allen, a wealthy businessman; and John Wood, an architect of considerable vision.[3] Allen (1693–1764) was a key figure in the restructuring of Bath. He was a shareholder in the Avon Navigation scheme and owned stone quarries. The building of the new town in Bath served to make Allen very wealthy as he did all that he could to make the development of the city a reality.[4] From 1727, Wood (1704–54) undertook to demolish much of the old town and replace it with buildings in the Palladian style. His son, also named John (1728–82), expanded upon his father's vision and was responsible for much of the new town.[5] Queen Square was laid out in a decade, beginning in 1729, to be followed by the Circus (1754–67) and the Royal Crescent (1767–74). The distinctive style of the buildings that the senior Wood introduced had its origins in the classical designs of ancient Greece and Rome, and combined elegance with practicality. Since many of these new terraced houses resulted from speculative development and were undertaken to respond to the needs of seasonal visitors to the city, they were well appointed, but not overly large. The change in both the population density of Bath and its recognition as a centre of leisure and culture quickly became apparent. By 1736, Mary Granville (Mrs. Delany) found Bath to be "a *more comfortable* place to live in than London: all the entertainments of the place lie in a small compass, and you are *at your liberty* to partake of them, or let them alone, just as it suits your humour."[6]

By 1759, Mrs. Powys could remark that Bath was "a city . . . more worth seeing than any I was ever at, the great Metropolis excepted." In particular, Mrs. Powys praised the great building campaign: "'tis infinitely improved by the building [of] the circus, and the whole street by which 'tis approach'd from the square."[7] By the time that Rauzzini took up permanent residence in Bath, the majority of the grand building projects had been completed, and landmarks such as those mentioned above were already established fashionable locations. Furthermore, the city was still at its peak as a social centre which catered to the finest members of society.

Perhaps one of the best ways to try and savor the distinctive qualities of Bath in the eighteenth century is through the eyes of a visitor from the Continent viewing Bath for the first time. Franz Joseph Haydn visited Bath in 1794, staying as a guest of Rauzzini for several days. Haydn's description of the city is

highly informative. "Bath is one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. All the houses are built of stone; this stone comes from quarries in the surrounding mountains; it is very soft, so soft, in fact, that it's no trouble to cut it up into any desired shape." Haydn does not mention that, once exposed to air, the stone gradually hardened so that it became weather-proof. Haydn's visit took place in the first week of August, not a time when the city was filled with visitors. "The city is not thickly populated, and in Summer one sees very few people; for the people taking the baths don't come till the beginning of October, and stay through half of February. But then a great many people come, so that in the year 1791, twenty-five thousand persons were there. All the inhabitants live off this influx, without which the city would be very poor; there are very few merchants and almost no trade, and everything is very dear."[8] It is evident that Haydn was interested in this cultural phenomenon and that he had either read up on its history or talked to local residents about it.

With its annual influx of influential people in pursuit of pleasure, it became necessary to find a means of maintaining social order. Gambling quickly became a primary form of entertainment and, along with it, various social abuses. A position of Master of Ceremonies was created in 1704 to help provide a code of social decorum for all who were in the city. The first holder of the title was a Captain Webster, himself a gambler who was killed in a duel in 1705 after a significant win at the table. The position was then given to Richard "Beau" Nash (1676–1761), also a gambler, but someone who realized that the highest echelons of society would not tolerate coarseness and a lack of decorum. Accordingly, he drew up a code of behavior for the city which was published and posted in public places. What is perhaps most remarkable is that Nash saw to it that the code was enforced solely through the force of his own personality, rather than law. Polite behavior was encouraged, and dueling, cock-fighting, and bull-baiting were banned. Furthermore, gambling was kept under strict control.[9] Nash was not even afraid to take stands against such common practices as smoking in public rooms. Swords were also banned in public, and considerable social pressure was brought to bear against gossips and scandalmongers. The artificiality of class distinctions and rank snobbery continued to flourish, however, much to the distress of Frances Burney. On June 8, 1780, she writes of her apathy with regard to the "sickening, heartless, *ton*-led people" although she was forced to "treat them with such respect as their superior stations fairly claim."[10]

Nash's reforms resulted in a public veneer of civilized behavior, but one where vices and abuses continued to flourish in ways that did not disturb the decorum. There was a significant dichotomy between the public perception of social interaction and the less salubrious pursuits that continued to be played out on a daily basis. The more obvious signs of vice were perhaps less visible in Bath than in London, but Nash appears to have realized that he could never prevent gambling and prostitution altogether. Female prostitutes did not ply

their trade openly, but their activities were in no way incommoded. Brothels flourished and were patronized by men who spoke openly even in mixed company of their adventures the next day. One of the most famous pornographic books of the century, Thomas Stretzer's *A New Description of Merryland*, was published by the Bath printer James Leake in 1740. Such was its popularity that the book achieved its tenth edition in 1742.[11] Indeed, the atmosphere of Bath appears to have been highly charged sexually. On one hand, it was a marriage market; mothers with unmarried daughters did their best to end the season in Bath with the announcement of an engagement. On the other hand, men gambled and took their pleasures in bawdy houses with impunity, while women of fashion sought to maintain every possible veneer of rectitude. As Graham Davis and Penny Bonsall have observed, "every taste was catered for in Bath: beneath the veneer of elegant refinement and strict codes of public behaviors, there lay a sordid world of gambling, pornography and vice."[12]

Bath's social structure may have been based on contradictions, but its reputation for luxury grew throughout the eighteenth century. As fine new houses came to be built, Bath developed the reputation of a luxurious seasonal resort for the gentry and the nobility where a variety of entertainments nearly equal those presented in London were available. The result was that "almost everyone who mattered in Georgian England sooner or later, for medical or social reasons, came to Bath."[13] The city was less fortunate after 1800, however. While it maintained a semblance of its former luster during the early years of the nineteenth century, the truth was that many came to live in Bath because it was less expensive to keep up appearances there than it was in London. Jane Austen's time in Bath, a city that she never much liked, would have made her well aware of this reality. She incorporated it in her novel *Persuasion* (1816) with the character of Sir Walter Elliot, who moves his family to Bath because of his reduced circumstances.[14] The visitors to Bath, or the "Company" as they were often called, may not have been a specific subset of British society, but they were of sufficient importance to the economy of the city to warrant special attention and recognition. The most socially significant visitors were greeted personally by the Master of Ceremonies, and their names were published in the newspapers.[15] The size of the influx of visitors was regularly reported back to the London newspapers, and comments such as "never was this city so full of company before" are to be found in the *Public Advertiser* on December 31, 1787.

Regardless of whether a person was in Bath for medical treatment or to find romance and adventure, a daily visit to the Pump Room to drink the mineral waters was customary. Those who went to the baths might be amazed at the spectacle of men and women from divergent classes splashing about without the usual concerns of class structure and decorum.[16] At the same time, Bath also offered much to those who were interested in the arts. Writers such as Pope, Fielding, and Smollett were frequent visitors, and the painters

Gainsborough and Thomas Barker eventually took up residence there. There was a long and distinguished history of music-making in Bath; composers and musicians who had contributed much to this aspect of Bath's artistic life included Thomas Chilcot, William Croft, J. C. Smith, Thomas Linley and his family, and William Herschel (1738–1822). Herschel is perhaps best remembered today as the astronomer who discovered Uranus, but he was also a fine musician. Thomas Linley Sr. directed concerts in the mid-1750s, eventually developing them into an important series of subscription concerts for which he acted as both impresario and director (as discussed in chapter 4). The concert life became very rich and varied with the finest of native and foreign soloists being presented in various locations in the city during the final three decades of the century. Perhaps the most famous musician to visit Bath was Haydn in 1794, but his visit appears to have been undertaken to give him a rest from the hectic pace of preparing for concerts in London rather than to take part in Bath's cultural life.

Various venues were used to provide musical performances throughout the century. Sacred music was a part of the regular services in the local churches, and the Abbey Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, commonly known as Bath Abbey, was also used for the performances of large-scale vocal works such as oratorios. More often, however, even the oratorios were performed in the New Rooms (Upper Rooms) during the period of Rauzzini's time in the city. Secular music was performed in various locations throughout the city. During the first half of the century, the Old Assembly Rooms (Harrison's Rooms) was the principal venue for concerts. Thomas Harrison built this Assembly House as a speculative venture, much encouraged by Beau Nash. Once completed, Nash moved his orchestra from the Pump Room to the new facility, and the series of Assembly Room concerts thereafter became an important feature of the cultural life of Bath. Later in the century, Harrison's Rooms were purchased by a Major Simpson, and were sometimes referred to as Simpson's Rooms. In 1728, John Wood (the elder) built a new Assembly House opposite to Harrison's Rooms. This space was known as Lindsey's rooms and then Wiltshire's Rooms, and was used for concerts on occasion. In 1750, a fine theater was constructed on Orchard Street that eventually was granted the title of Theatre Royal, Bath. Although principally a playhouse, it served a variety of purposes.[17] Between 1775 and 1778 a new Guildhall was erected that featured a large banqueting hall and other public spaces. This space could not compete as a concert venue, however, with the New Assembly (Upper) Rooms, completed in 1771.

Designed by the younger John Wood, the New Assembly Rooms immediately attracted the most affluent members of the Bath society. The lavishly appointed building had been constructed immediately to the east of the fashionable Circus, and formed a part of the city that had been transformed by the vision of the elder Wood. Called the Upper Town, this area contained such prestige developments as the Queen Square, Gay Street, and the Circus.[18] The

younger Wood continued with his father's plans, providing a place of entertainment for the fashionable visitors who now flocked to the Upper Town. Unfortunately, this development served to create a strong division between the status of the Old and New Towns. The New Assembly Rooms consisted of four spaces: the Ball Room (104′3″ long by 41′6″ wide), the Tea Room (also used for Concerts, 66′6″ long by 41′6″ wide), the Octagon Room (linking the various spaces), and a Card Salon. Concerts were usually given in the Tea Room during Linley's time.[19] During Rauzzini's day, it was common for the concerts to move into the Ball Room once the number of subscribers warranted the move. The Ball Room, the largest Georgian interior in Bath, was said to be able to accommodate upward of twelve hundred people. Newspaper accounts sometimes referred to this room being full and even overflowing for some of Rauzzini's concerts.[20]

By 1781, the yearly influx of visitors to Bath comprised some of the most affluent, wealthy and demanding members of British society. They tended to see Bath as a giant country-house excursion during the season, treating the entertainments on offer as their private amusements. Some might even request a change to a concert program, such as the repetition of a work, after a concert had begun. The length of stay for the various visitors varied from a couple of weeks to several months depending upon the wealth of the individuals and their obligations elsewhere. Because some of the influential members of this transient population stayed for a longer period, it was necessary to ensure that there was a constant supply of new entertainments. John A. Gillaspie presents a typical schedule of events for the city:

> Monday: Dress Ball, Upper Rooms.
> Tuesday: Cotillion Ball, Lower Rooms,—Theatre Royal.
> Wednesday: Subscription Concert, Upper Rooms.
> Thursday: Cotillion Ball, Upper Rooms,—Theatre Royal.
> Friday: Dress Ball, Lower Rooms—Catch Club, White Hart Tavern.
> Saturday: Theatre Royal.[21]

As long as the managers of the various entertainments adhered to the schedule, things ran smoothly. It was necessary for the musicians of the Pump Room and the theater orchestra to be available for the subscriptions concerts. When disagreement broke out amongst the various groups, considerable interruption to the plan and unpleasantness were the result.

Rauzzini's Personal Life

Rauzzini's public persona was a carefully constructed image that radiated geniality and charm but revealed little about his inner life and feelings. He was not alone amongst his castrato brothers who did not wish unwarranted

attention brought to their status of being socially and physically distinct. In the case of Rauzzini, however, he was also a foreigner living in a country that increasingly had come to distrust Continental influences as the eighteenth century came to a close. This appears to have made Rauzzini even more cautious about his public image. The accounts of the singer's personality from his London years penned by the various members of the Burney family are valuable, but these largely stop once he had settled in Bath. If Rauzzini kept a diary there is no mention of it in the surviving documents and, seemingly, only one letter written by him has survived. This letter, dated August 12, 1801, was written on behalf of a friend who had hired a French dancing master for his school.[22] Said dancing master had not appeared on schedule, and Rauzzini wrote to him in French to inform him that if he did not appear immediately, a replacement would be hired.[23] While the letter reveals Rauzzini's command of the French language and his willingness to help out in a difficult situation, it does not add materially to the formation of a character study.

The published account of his personality in the so-called "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini" from 1807 go to considerable lengths to portray the composer as a benign and placid personality, full of goodness:

> Rauzzini is, however, now advanced in years, possesses a most even temper, is engaging and polite in his manners, sensible and entertaining in his conversation, kind of heart, charitable in his feelings, and generous with his purse. In his youth, he added to the sweetness of his voice, great beauty of person, the remains of which are still visible in a calm and placid countenance, softened by years, but still looking content, tranquility [*sic*], and goodness.[24]

The author of these "memoirs" appears not to have had access to information about Rauzzini's early years beyond that which was published by Charles Burney. As a result, they add little to the biographical knowledge of Rauzzini.

The obituaries published in the *Bath Chronicle* and the *Bath Journal* contain the expected fulsome praise for Rauzzini's contribution to the musical life of Bath. The *Journal* commented on April 16, 1810, that "if his professional celebrity was great, it was even exceeded by his generosity, hospitality, warmness of heart, and good humour; in private life, few men were more esteemed, more generally beloved." The *Chronicle* wrote on April 12, 1810, about his "polished security of manners, a mild and cheerful disposition, and a copious fund of information, [that] rendered him an attractive and agreeable companion." The report continues with the comments that Rauzzini was "constitutionally generous and hospitable, [and] he delighted in society. His natural gaiety of temper, the mode of his education and an improvidence, common amongst his countrymen and those of his profession, occasionally involved him in difficulties, but his principal embarrassments were occasioned early in life, by the advantages which were taken of his inexperience and facility."

The comments at the end of the above statement are dishearteningly vague but intriguing. Do they refer to his earlier business relationship with La Motte, the celebrated affair of Mrs. Gooch (discussed in greater detail below), the Sacchini dispute, or Rauzzini's two imprisonments for debt in the 1780s? Answers to these questions must remain in the realm of speculation. In 1814, William Bingley shamelessly plagiarized the above comments from the *Bath Chronicle* in his *Musical Biography; or, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Most Eminent Musical Composers and Writers.*[25] W. T. Parke appears to have taken exception to some of Bingley's criticism of Rauzzini's love of company in 1830 (likely not realizing that they were not original to him) when he writes:

> This accusation is I think unjust, for Rauzzini was compelled by circumstances to entertain a number of popular singers and musicians, who came to Bath to serve him, and for which they received little, or perhaps no other remuneration. Indeed no man less respected than Rauzzini was, could have carried on these concerts, and have produced them as he did, a succession of singers of the first eminence, at a subscription amounting to no more than about two shillings and ninepence per night! being less than a third of those at the concerts in London.[26]

The picture that emerges from the early chroniclers is one of a generous, kind, hospitable, and loyal person who, in turn, received great respect and loyalty from his many students and colleagues. Other than his fondness for a pet dog, the more intimate details of his life appear to have been a subject hidden behind a carefully constructed exterior of polished manners. That did not, however, prevent speculation. On January 25, 1790, Hester Lynch Piozzi wrote to the Reverend Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, posing the intriguing question "Is Rauzzini going to marry an English Lady and his Scholar with a large Fortune?"[27] Such a question invokes the specter of Tenducci's failed marriage to Dorothea Maunsell in the 1770s. No such marriage took place for Rauzzini, but it is instructive to note that Mrs. Piozzi believed a union of this type was possible and seemingly not a crime against nature. There is no hint of any homosexual leanings during Rauzzini's time in Britain, even when he shared rooms with Franz La Motte or when he had male singing apprentices, such as John Braham, residing in his home. Rauzzini taught many wealthy female students, and it is not known to which of them Mrs. Piozzi refers. Whatever the gossip that was then in circulation, it remains unverified, although it is possible that a union between Rauzzini and Lady Susannah Wroughton (ca. 1745–1825) was already the subject of gossip.

At the end of the final decade of the century, John Marsh recorded his reactions to a concert he attended in Bath on January 30, 1800. Suffering from a bad headache, he was hardly in the best mood for listening. He records that he "almost fell asleep during Mara's best song, w'ch was towards the conclusion of the concert, which was led by Brooks in his usual sleepy way. The

conductor however, Mr Rauzzini, was animated enough particularly when he caught the eye of the celebrated Miss Wroughton, who sat in the front row."[28] Lady Susannah Wroughton and Rauzzini appear to have been close friends. She came from a wealthy family who had held a country seat in Wilcot (near Devizes). She inherited Wilcot Manor on her father's death and was thereafter independently wealthy. She never married and was thus able to spend her fortune as she saw fit. Miss Wroughton was a great beauty in her youth and enjoyed considerable social prestige. Such was her status that she opened the first ball in the Upper Rooms in Bath in 1771. She rented a large house at 2 Catharine Place, where she entertained lavishly, and presented Sunday evening concerts on a large scale.[29]

Miss Wroughton appears not to have adjusted well to ageing, and was ridiculed in Richard Warner's *Bath Characters* for her excessive use of cosmetics.[30] This was not the first time that she had been criticized for her reliance on cosmetics to obscure the ravages of time. Mrs. Powys records in 1803 that Wroughton, "formerly one of the first of the Bath beauties, was lately styled by a wit at that place, 'a proof print of former times.'"[31] Barbara White cites the memoirs of William Windom, who saw Wroughton in 1799 at a ball. Windom found her appearance to be quite startling, stating that she looked "like a mummy, dead and dressed."[32] Given the high lead content in many of the cosmetics of the period, it is likely that the ones on which she had become reliant actually did more harm than good, but Wroughton's vanity would not allow her to appear in public without them. Mrs. Piozzi appears not to have much liked Miss Wroughton, although she would not have dared alienate her given her social standing and influence in Bath. As early as 1792, Mrs. Piozzi wrote that Miss Wroughton chose "to be the worst Piece of Art extant, instead of a Masterpiece of Nature."[33] By 1819, Piozzi writes that "Miss Wroughton looks *I think* most mournfully, as if the Resurrection Men had lifted her from the Grave.[34]

Wroughton's social prestige in Bath was considerable; her wealth provided her with the means to maintain that prestige over the years. As Mrs. Piozzi remarked on April 2, 1815, "Miss Wroughton's House is the Court of St. James in *our* Town."[35] She was a great musical enthusiast, and her close friendship with Rauzzini allowed her to have influence on the musical life of the city as well as having access to musicians to perform at her own private concerts. Miss Wroughton appears in Richard Warner's *Bath Characters* as Signora Rattana:

> for these five and thirty years past; for so long has the divine Signora Rattana been the cynosure of Bath circles; the queen of hear[t]s and diamonds; the patroness of solos, duettos, trios, concertos, and full pieces; the *rallying point* of singers and fiddlers; fluters and harpers; players upon the trumpet, sackbut, dulcimer, and *all kinds of instruments**. . . .
>
> * This lady claims the high praise of being first upon the list of those *worthies*, the generous patrons and patronesses of *music*, who have diffused a sort of *harmonic mania* through Bath, and converted it into one *grand orchestra*.[36]

Miss Wroughton gave weekly musical evenings on Sundays during the season at which Rauzzini performed and played the genial guest. Some of these concerts were so glittering that they were even reviewed in the Bath newspapers. Given the closeness that existed between Wroughton and Rauzzini, it was inevitable that gossip would circulate about the nature of their relationship. Significantly, in Warner's *Bath Characters* Rauzzini is made to deny the charge that he and Lady Susanna were romantically involved.

At the same time, it is possible that the two had a relationship that transcended a mere shared interest in music. They may have formed a "closed court" from which both received emotional support that was otherwise lacking in their lives. On the surface, it appeared that Miss Wroughton championed Rauzzini and served as his protector when he needed one. He, in turn, opened a world of musical performance to her. A dissenting view of the relationship is to be found in a letter written by Mrs. Piozzi ten years after Rauzzini's death:

> Who would wish for Beauty or Fortune to Females who cannot be suffered to possess them in Peace for the Lying tongues of their Neighbours? And who sigh for talents when Rauzzini was suffered to die in somewhat very like *real Distress* in a Town he had entertained so long—and by a Lady who had exacted such unwearied Hommage from him for 14 or 15 Years——because She *got off* 50£ Worth of Tickets for him every Benefit—It was all She *did* do.[37]

One aspect of Rauzzini's interest in his adopted city is evident: he took part in as much of the musical life of Bath as he could. He often composed music for specific occasions that were designed to help a local charity or church group to achieve a worthwhile cause. Not the least of these groups was the Pauper Charity for whom Rauzzini composed his *Ode for the Pauper Charity at Bath*, which was given its premiere at the concert of January 21, 1789. There had been a long tradition in Bath of providing health care to the less fortunate. This is hardly surprising given the city's preeminence as a spa town. The Bath Pauper Scheme was a charity founded in 1747 to provide medical care to those who otherwise could not afford it. The scheme was expanded in 1792 to create the Bath Dispensary and Infirmary;[38] it is likely that this ode was commissioned to help in the fundraising process. Other forms of raising funds are mentioned in the Bath newspapers, including public breakfasts, the tickets for which cost the not-inconsiderable amount of five shillings. A yearly concert appears to have been presented, the profits of which supported the Pauper Scheme. Rauzzini both composed for these occasions and acted as the music director.

The text for the *Ode* was by the Bath bookseller, William Meyler.[39] A brief report of the concert and Meyler's text were published in the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* on February 5, 1789, as follows: "Our ingenious Bookseller in the Grove, and our mellifluous composer Rauzzini have united their Talents with great Success for the Benefit of the Pauper Charity

in this City, both of which came forth this Evening at a Concert in the New Rooms." The text consisted of two pairs of recitative and air, followed by a "Song" and a chorus.[40] The initial text describes the miserable condition of a dying man, watched over by a frantic wife whose four small children are close to death as well. The "Song" (more in the nature of an accompanied recitative) presents the appearance of "Humanity's sons, to dispel every fear" who "cheer the wan eye, and . . . sooth the wrung breast." The words are typical of the growing taste for overt sentimentality by the end of the century. The text of the final chorus, which extols the virtues of those who practice charitable works, follows: "Then blest be the patrons of this hallow'd scheme, / Whose eyes, like their God's, with benevolence beam."

Rauzzini regularly conducted benefit concerts for other local charities and personally donated funds to them. Two examples will suffice to show that he was unstinting in his support of worthy causes. On February 14, 1800, Rauzzini conducted a benefit concert of *Messiah*, with the proceeds going to the building of Christ's Church in Bath. Less than a month later (March 5), he was involved with a benefit concert in aid of the Bath City Dispensary and Asylum for the Sick and Poor. This concert of mixed vocal and orchestral music featured soloists such as Mrs. Mountain, Mary Ashe, and Miss Andrews who regularly graced his subscription concerts. Rauzzini was a valued member of the Harmonic Society, a group whose concerts might have been seen as a threat to the success of his subscription concerts. On February 20, 1806, Rauzzini was presented with a silver cup from the Society. An English translation of the Latin inscription reads: "To V. RAUZZINI, justly distinguished for his liberality and munificence, this Memorial is presented by the Society at York-house for many obliging attentions reportedly conferred upon them: and who attach no other value to it, than as it may tend to ward off the imputation of ingratitude. Yet as the slightest acknowledgements are favourably appreciated by a generous mind, it is hoped this tribute will not fail in its effect."[41] It is evident that he gave much to the musical life of Bath outside of his subscription concerts, and did so willingly and with much good grace.

Teaching

Rauzzini achieved success as a teacher of voice early in his British career. He had made his debut at the King's Theatre opposite his student, Caterina Schindlerin. She had a small voice but was otherwise well schooled, and this appears to have given his claims of pedagogical expertise credibility. It is likely that the majority of his early students were the daughters of the *ton* for whom the ability to perform well in elegant and refined circles moved them forward in the inevitable progress to matrimony and financial security. That Rauzzini himself was young, attractive and in the public eye likely

contributed to his ability to attract these students. As stated in chapter 3, Louisa Harris called upon Rauzzini for voice lessons when Sacchini, her regular teacher, was not available. Given his great popularity, it would seem likely that Rauzzini soon began to teach those, such as Nancy Storace and Michael Kelly, who wished to have a professional career. Rauzzini took a great interest in Storace's career, and supported the decision to send her to Italy for further vocal training.[42] Kelly benefitted from Rauzzini's teaching when the latter was in Dublin in 1777; he writes that Rauzzini's lessons included teaching him the air "Fuggiam da questo loco, in piena libertà," one of Rauzzini's most popular songs. Kelly further relates that Rauzzini treated him kindly and convinced Kelly's father to send his son to Italy.[43] The absence of other records of this type of teaching may be more of an oversight by diarists than a true indication of his student base. At the same time, Rauzzini faced competition from many established voice teachers in London, including J. C Bach's wife, the celebrated soprano Cecilia Grassi.

It has been reported in several sources that Rauzzini had an absolute disdain for British singers. J. Bernard's *Retrospections of the Stage* (1830) may be the earliest account of Rauzzini's alleged practice of turning his back on English singers to express his contempt of them. Richard Polwhele was quick to pick up the story and included it in his three-volume *Biographical Sketches in Cornwall* in 1831. The author states that it was only after hearing Charles Incledon singing the role of Edwin in *Robin Hood* in Bath that Rauzzini exclaimed that Incledon was the first British singer in his experience who could actually sing.[44] Incledon's first appearance at the theatre had been announced for March 24, 1785. By that date, Rauzzini had sung in public with many British singers during festival performances of oratorios. The newspaper reports invariably speak of his impeccable manners, making it seem unlikely that he could have caused offense to the other singers without its being commented upon in the newspapers. Furthermore, Incledon was still a rather rough and untrained singer in 1785, having made his stage debut the previous year after leaving naval service. He was blessed with a large voice of considerable potential, but it seems unlikely that he was the first British singer that Rauzzini had ever heard who could sing, especially at that stage of his vocal development. It is doubtful that Rauzzini would have enjoyed success as a pedagogue had he truly disdained British singers. They had to be able to sing in tune, however. Rauzzini was not above criticizing even so great a singer as Pacchierotti in this area, as Susan Burney discovered (much to her annoyance).[45]

During his years in Bath, Rauzzini devoted an increasing amount of time to teaching and often needed the income from this activity to offset losses in his activities as a concert promoter. In Bath, he taught a cross-section of society: the daughters of the upper classes, young singers hopeful of a professional career, and those who were already established but saw the benefit of further training. Of the first group, one can well imagine that not all were

highly talented, and that some, such as the infamous Mrs. Gooch, proved to be more trouble than they were worth financially. Yet teaching this group was a financial and social necessity since the parents of the students were often key members of the audience for his subscription concerts. Although few details of his interactions with this group of students survive, he appears to have treated them with respect rather than disdain. They appear to have recognized his value to the community in return. The benefit concert organized in 1794 by several young society ladies to assist Rauzzini financially when he had suffered severe loses with the concerts is a testament to their loyalty and respect. At the same time, his being young and handsome could have its liabilities when it attracted the wrong kind of attention from the young ladies whom he taught. The saga of Mrs. Gooch must have been a constant reminder to Rauzzini to be wary of danger signs, especially since Mrs. Gooch kept repeating the sad story of her life in publications dated 1788 and 1792. The events of the scandal are recounted in some detail to demonstrate just how potentially dangerous this section of society could be to someone like Rauzzini, who depended upon his public image for his livelihood.

In 1778, a scandal erupted in Bath when William Gooch accused his wife, Elizabeth Sarah Villa-Real Gooch (ca. 1757–ca. 1804), of having committed adultery with Rauzzini, who was her voice teacher at the time. For someone in Rauzzini's position, such an accusation could have seriously damaged his career aspirations in Bath. The scandal must have happened in late winter or early spring since the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* recorded on June 22, 1778, that it happened "a short while since."[46] Although the Gooch family name was partially protected ("Mrs. G—h" was the form used in the newspaper), Rauzzini's name was given in full. Unfortunately, we do not have any account of the events from Rauzzini's perspective and the first statements of Mrs. Gooch date from a decade later, when she penned the pamphlet *An Appeal to the Public, on the Conduct of Mrs. Gooch, the Wife of William Gooch, Esq.* (1788). This document was written for the purpose of raising money for her release from debtor's prison in Fleet Street, London. The pamphlet outlines a rather sad account of a seventeen-year-old heiress who visited Bath during the season of 1775 and attracted the attention of an opportunistic suitor who believed her fortune to be far greater than it actually was. She married William Gooch, the son of Sir Thomas Gooch, the following May. Within a fortnight the reality of her deception was made apparent.

Sarah and her husband returned to Bath for the 1777–78 season at which time the unhappy young wife turned to music for solace—"a constant and favourite amusement."[47] She began to study with Rauzzini, who came to the Gooch residence to give her singing lessons daily. The author states that Rauzzini slipped her an unsigned note in French during the interval of an evening concert, postponing her lesson the following day.[48] The note is also alleged to have stated that Rauzzini "should return in the evening and go to

the [Assembly] Rooms, purposely for the pleasure of seeing [her] there."[49] The comment could have been construed as being improper but Mrs. Gooch excused the impropriety by stating that it "was nothing more than usual French style."[50] Rauzzini, however, showed up for the lesson at the usual time the next day, an occurrence unexplained by Mrs. Gooch. Mrs. Gooch states that she accidentally dropped the note on the floor of her house and then forgot about it until later. When the note could not be found Mrs. Gooch approached Rauzzini and La Motte during the interval of a subsequent concert to solicit their assistance; she feared reprisals from her husband and the Gooch family.

Unfortunately for Mrs. Gooch, her husband had discovered the note and a cover plan that she had devised with her friend Miss Louisa Kerr quickly unraveled. Mrs. Gooch turned to Rauzzini and La Motte for help but they could offer no assistance.[51] Mrs. Gooch writes in 1788 that she and her husband left for Dover on December 24, 1778, from which place they travelled to France. It is difficult to reconcile her dating of events when the *Morning Chronicle* had already reported the reasons for their flight to France in June of that same year. Mr. Gooch had planned to leave his wife at a French convent. When she objected he returned to England, leaving his wife to her own devices. Thereafter, she fell into the lifestyle of a courtesan, passing from man to man. She returned to Britain around 1787, when she unsuccessfully attempted to reconnect with her children. By 1788, she was in debtor's prison, where she wrote her life story in order to pay for her release. Her account of the injustice faced by Rauzzini follows:

> Everyone who knows Mr. *Gooch*, is acquainted with the quietness of his disposition, and his antipathy to meeting any gentleman in an unamicable manner. *Rauzzini* was then the properest, nay, the only proper victim to be chosen. A foreigner, of very unequal birth to Mr. *Gooch*, and whose only support was from the public; who had no other friends than those who admired his talent; of an inoffensive disposition, and one of those individuals whose every virtue seems to have been eradicated with their fate: such was the person made choice of, and such was to be the cause of our eternal separation. The utter ruin of a harmless man, whose sole dependance, as I have said before, was on the public; and who was from this hour, as it has proved, to be unjustly robbed of its protection, was a matter of no consideration, when compared to the utility of the charge brought against him; a charge the more infamous, as it ruined, and forever, two innocent persons.[52]

Mr. Gooch tried unsuccessfully to divorce his wife in 1779 and 1781. Rauzzini was partially absolved from any misconduct during the second hearing; it was reported (in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* of February 21, 1781) that Mrs. Gooch's behavior had consisted of "improper . . . though not adulterous commerce with Rauzzini." Unfortunately, Mrs. Gooch repeated the story in her 1792 autobiography, *The Life of Mrs. Gooch. Written by Herself.* Once again, Mrs. Gooch attempted to portray herself as a wronged woman

and perhaps even somewhat heroically in an effort to sell her books and make money. For Rauzzini, the 1792 publication only served to rake up old rumors and innuendo. Perhaps even more remarkable than the number of times that the story found itself in print is the means by which the three-volume autobiography was marketed. Front-page advertisements appeared in various London newspapers between April 5 and May 5, 1792, that not only advertised the sale of the books but also listed over one hundred names of people who were discussed therein. One can image the cold wave of shock passing through society on the day that the autobiography was announced. The list of those discussed included the Duke of York, other members of the aristocracy, leading members of the church, and, of course, Rauzzini. By this time, he likely wished that he had never met Mrs. Gooch, let alone attempted to teach her singing. Yet, in spite of this rocky start to his teaching career in Bath, Rauzzini established a considerable reputation as one of the leading vocal pedagogues in Britan.

Rauzzini's Teaching Method

Rauzzini did not publish a vocal "method" as such, thus making assumptions about his teaching practices difficult. There are negative comments found in the satirical publication, *ABC Dario Musico*, published in 1780: "He now teaches to sing; and, as the Signor has undoubtedly fine teeth, he takes care to exhibit them as much as possible, by closing them and stretching his mouth as wide a possible; and exhorts his pupils to do the same, as the best method of learning."[53] Such an approach to singing would result in resonance that is focussed solely on the hard palate. The aural result would be a bright, penetrating sound, but one lacking in color and depth of tone. Modern pedagogical thought generally favors a more balanced approach to vocal resonance, using both the hard and soft palate, resulting in greater light and shade in the tone.[54] The question remains, however, did Rauzzini actually teach this way? Would there have been a need to produce singers who sounded stridently bright, especially when many of the spaces in which they performed were smaller than modern concert halls? It is possible that no definitive answer will be forthcoming. However, the complaints about the castrati smiling widely when they sang were far from new. Frederick C. Petty draws attention to a passage from the satirical publication *The Remarkable Trial of the Queen of Quavers*, in which the castrato is referred to as having the "look of a crocodile, the grin of an ape . . . [and] the throat of a pig."[55] This unflattering description appears to have been an attack on Rauzzini, written the year after he finished his contract with the King's Theatre. The similarity to the comments in the later *ABC Dario Musico* makes those comments in that source all the more suspect.

Indeed, the success of Rauzzini's teaching is attested to by the number of his students who achieved professional success. Some sense of his teaching

method (and perhaps of his own singing) can be gained from the preface to his vocal exercises consisting of two books each of *Twelve Solfeggi, or Exercises for the Voice*, published about two years before his death. Here, the comments for young singers are wise and come from many years as a performer and a pedagogue. When Rauzzini writes that "the sole object of singing is to please; extravagant passages may create surprise, but seldom pleasure," it becomes evident that Rauzzini understood the true art of communicative singing. Elsewhere, Rauzzini disparages the overly ornamented style of singing that had become fashionable: "how many can execute those graces with perfection? And if they are not well executed; instead of Graces they may be justly called Disgraces." Rauzzini makes the following more technical comments about vocal production:

> Particular attention must be paid to the CANTABILE Exercises, a style of singing that (I am sorry to say) has been of late, too much neglected. . . .
>
> I advise those who wish to sing well to adopt in their manner of singing what, they can perform with FACILITY, and to be contented with that alone, for the Judicious, can be delighted, only by an easy and correct performance. . . .
>
> The Art of singing depends on keeping the voice steady, gradually swelling the Notes, ascending and descending LEGATO and APPOGGIATO, taking breath in proper places; in opening the mouth wide enough to produce the sounds free without their being impeded by the TEETH, yet, not so wide, as to be ridiculous, but in a smiling form; above all things take particular care to articulate the words distinctly. . . .
>
> Avoid every difficulty which your power will not allow you to execute, and content yourself with singing well, which you will acquire by forming a style of your own.[56]

These statements appear to reflect a sound and healthy approach to vocal production. Rauzzini's comments about opening the mouth in a "smiling form," but "not so wide, as to be ridiculous" was likely a direct rebuttal to the criticism in the *ABC Dario Musico*. As to the remainder of the concepts behind these vocalises, they can be the hardest for any young singer to conquer. The exercises were all meant to be sung to the vowel "ah" and each of the exercises investigates specific vocal challenges. They are far too difficult for beginners; Rauzzini indicates in the preface that they were intended for singers who already had basic training. Each exercise is given a written-out keyboard accompaniment which does not merely double the vocal part but provides an interesting accompaniment to it. As a teacher, he appears to have valued legato singing and given great attention to diction. In an era when extravagant virtuosity was still applauded by audiences, it is encouraging to read: "Avoid every difficulty which your power will not allow you to execute, and content yourself with singing well."[57] The comments also indicate that he taught a breath support that allowed for a range of dynamics within a

legato approach. Interestingly, he states that this style was already a bit old-fashioned; it likely reflects his own background and training. It is possible that Rauzzini was a follower of the old adage of "singing on one's vocal interest, rather than its capital."

Rauzzini was not the only voice teacher in Bath, although he may well have been the most sought after by young vocal hopefuls. It would have been incumbent on the competing teachers in the area to maintain a good working relationship with Rauzzini given that he could offer employment to their students if he deemed them to be worthy. At least one teacher in the area, however, appears to have borne him animosity. In 1799, a *contretemps* developed between a Mrs. Wingrove and Rauzzini, the nature of which has never been explained fully. Mrs. Wingrove was the sister of Jane Miles (née Guest), with whom Rauzzini enjoyed a good working relationship over a number of years. To have fallen out with a member of this family would have been uncomfortable to say the least. Mrs. Wingrove exacted what appears to be a petty revenge against either Rauzzini or her student, Mary Comer. Comer was nearing the end of her apprenticeship to Mrs. Wingrove in 1799. She had been singing in public since 1795 when she was eighteen. She had become well liked by local audiences; even Rauzzini had engaged her for his benefit concert in the spring of 1797. He made plans for a similar engagement on April 10, 1799, and advertised her name in the newspapers. This time, however, Mrs. Wingrove objected and sent a message to Rauzzini on the day before the concert: "Mrs. Wingrove desires Mr. Rauzzini will DISCONTINUE Miss Comer's Name in the Bills for To-morrow's Concert, as she will on No Terms allow her to sing." This message was copied onto a handbill given to audiences at the concert, a copy of which survived at the Bath Central Library, along with Rauzzini's apology to the audience:

> Mr Rauzzini is very sorry the Publick should be deprived of Miss Comer's singing this Evening, but the following will serve to exculpate him.
>
> A Wish to have the Publick pleased, and a Desire to bring forward a Young Person of Talents, on which she is to rest for her support, induced Mr. Rauzzini to wish Miss Comer to Sing on this Occasion.

The matter might not have blown up to the degree that it did had Mary Comer not decided (perhaps foolishly) to attend Rauzzini's concert. It is hard to imagine that she did not realize that her appearance in the audience of a concert at which she had been advertised to sing would raise questions. Her presence was noted by prominent members of the audience who demanded that she sing the songs that had been advertised for her. This placed both the singer and Rauzzini in a difficult situation, but she agreed to be brought forward by Rauzzini and perform. The *Bath Herald* recorded on April 13, 1799, that she enjoyed a considerable success that evening and that "she appeared very sensible of the flattering notice of the public." This last statement raises

the question of whether or not her decision to attend the concert was a calculated gesture to create some form of controversy or public animosity against Mrs. Wingrove. Although the end of Mary Comer's apprenticeship was only days away, Mrs. Wingrove still had the right to any money earned through singing or to deny her student's appearance at Rauzzini's concert. Mrs. Wingrove issued a statement through a "correspondent" to the *Bath Herald* on April 20 that, while she had been "indirectly censured" by the audience at the concert, she was not going to debate the issue further, since "public opinion is not a fair tribunal of appealing on private affairs." In this, Mrs. Wingrove showed much wisdom by not initiating a public battle with the local audience and Rauzzini. She may have been legally right but she could never have won in the court of public opinion. Mary Comer's apprenticeship ended on May 3, and she was given a benefit concert directed by Rauzzini shortly thereafter.[58] She went on to become one of Bath's finest sopranos, appearing under her married of Ashe following her marriage to the Irish flautist Andrew Ashe in September 1799. As to the nature of the subsequent relationship between Mrs. Wingrove and Rauzzini, no records survive.

Many of Rauzzini's students never intended to attempt professional careers. For genteel young ladies, the ability to perform music well was an accomplishment valued in social circles that might increase their attractiveness to potential spouses. It could also lead to envy from those not musically inclined. Elizabeth Canning wrote to her mother on January 4, 1793, describing a private concert that she had attended where a Miss Gubbins sang, accompanied by Rauzzini: "She is not a Linley, but her voice is very fine, & I could not but envy her. I asked her sister how long she had been taught by M^{r} Rautzini [*sic*], the reply was "Oh she has not had much instruction, about a hundred [and] fifty Lessons."[59] We do not know how much Rauzzini charged per lesson, but it would appear that there was a living to be made through "society" teaching. Rauzzini was seemingly dependent upon this kind of activity for his financial survival in the seasons when the concert series either lost money or made a minimal profit. These circumstances are examined in chapter 7.

There were also established singers who found it worth their time to retrain under Rauzzini's experienced hand. Amongst these was Mrs. Rosemond Mountain (ca. 1768–1841), a singer initially trained by Charles Dibdin. She had made her debut at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in 1786 after appearances in the provinces. She was a useful singing actress, being attractive and having a pleasant voice, but she was not considered to be in the same league as Mrs. Billington, Gertrud Elizabeth Mara, or Nancy Storace. Mrs. Mountain was already thirty years of age at the time of her engagements in the theaters in Bath and Bristol in 1798, an age when few might have expected a significant change in her voice. Positive results were quick to emerge, however, after she retrained with Rauzzini. The *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* noted on June 12, 1799, the change in her singing style with the comment that "Mrs. MOUNTAIN,

without going into *Italy*, has acquired all the Italian graces in singing, under the tuition of RAUZZINI, the long-established favourite of *Bath*." The comment is equivocal, and may have been intended as a rebuke to her abandoning her simple, "British" style of singing. The same newspaper, however, reported on September 26, 1799, in more glowing terms of the success of her vocal transformation under Rauzzini in a review of the Winchester Festival, held that summer: "HANDEL'S Music, from the celebrity of the late Festival at Winchester, has gained a very considerable acquisition in Mrs. Mountain.—The natural sweetness and power of her voice, aided by the brilliant and extensive Science of RAUZZZINI to whose instruction she has ardently devoted herself for some time past, now render her no less an object of applause than attention in the Oratorio Department." When the singer returned to the London stage in 1800, audiences were amazed at the change in her singing. When Nancy Storace retired from the stage in 1808, Mrs. Mountain took over her roles, surely an indication that the latter had achieved a level of vocal preeminence.

An examination of the programs of some of the concert societies in London reveals not only how often Rauzzini's students appeared as principal soloists but how similar the programs were in London and Bath. Graydon Beeks reprints two programs for the Concert of Ancient Music in London for February 9, 1791, and February 8, 1792.[60] In the first, the soloists included Michael Kelly, Jonathan Neild, Nancy Storace, and Gertrud Elizabeth Mara. Kelly, Storace, and Neild were former students of Rauzzini, and Mara had Rauzzini keep a watchful ear on her voice. The following year, the singers included Neild again, but also Maria Parke and Maria Poole. The links between the concert series in London and Bath emerges here since Neild and Poole had been trained by Rauzzini, and all three had received considerable professional experience in Bath.[61] It is a testament to the soundness of Rauzzini's method that so many of his students achieved lasting success.

By the early years of the nineteenth century, Rauzzini was frequently sought out by those desirous of having a professional career, so much so that the *Monthly Mirror* described his house as having become "by degrees . . . a kind of musical Lyceum."[62] The description continues with: "The most eminent among the favourites of the public, of the present moment, are found in the list of his scholars. To the improvement acquired at his Lyceum, the singular liberality of the master's disposition has moreover appended advantages seldom attendant on other schools . . . he receives and entertains in his hospitable mansion those very students who come to him for the purpose of profiting by his instructions." That Rauzzini had influenced the traditions of British singing greatly was realized in his lifetime. The anonymous "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini" record:

> In his career he has become the father of a new style in English singing, and a new race of singers, who have naturalized, to an English ear, the florid song and ornamental style of the Italians. His pupils in this class are Madame Mara, Mrs. Billington, and Mr. Braham, whose fame is not confined to this

> country, and the former of whom, for science, taste, and execution, are, perhaps, not excelled by any vocal artists of the present age. Signora Storace and Incledon are also pupils of the same master, each possessing a peculiar style of excellence, and lastly he has afforded, in the example of Mrs. Mountain, a proof of the great advantage of scientific instruction superadded to natural endowments. What Mrs. Mountain was, before she went to Bath, the frequenters of Covent-Garden Theatre well know; what the same enchanting creature became when she returned and sang with Mrs. Billington, was soon felt, but could not have been anticipated. She was like the wild and simple beauty of woods trained at last to agility and grace by the correcting hand of education.[63]

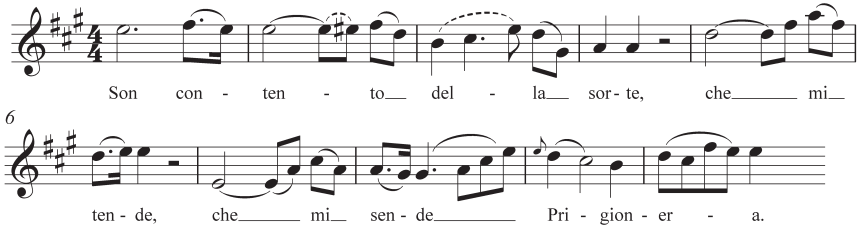
The article in the *Monthly Mirror*, cited above, succinctly states that "a singer, untutored by Rauzzini, appears but half accomplished." Although such comments could sound exaggerated, they withstand critical scrutiny by the number of his successful students.[64]

Receiving training from Rauzzini was often heralded when young singers made their professional debuts. On April 2, 1804, the *Morning Chronicle* reported the debut performance of a young singer thus: "Mrs. Kingston, pupil of Signor Rauzzini, her first public appearance." Even after a singer had long since ceased to be a pupil of Rauzzini's, his name was still often cited. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported on August 4, 1806, that "A Mr. HILL, who, we understand, was a pupil of Rauzzini's, was a great favourite at Bath, (where he made his *debut*) and who, for near[ly] ten years, has supported a first line of musical business in Covent Garden . . . with universal approbation."[65] In the world of singing in Britain, it appears that Rauzzini's name carried much clout with audiences and singers alike.

Vocal Compositions

Although Rauzzini's output in instrumental music may have diminished during his later years in Bath, he continued to compose vocal music of high quality. These compositions likely were useful both in his lessons and at his concerts. Not all of this music was published, however. One of the most interesting manuscript works by Rauzzini is the "Bravura: Son Contenda [*sic*] della sorte" (there is a mistake in the title: *recte* "contento"). The manuscript (British Library: Add. 31817, 92r –102v) is in the hand of R. J. S. Stevens (1757–1839), and contains the annotation, "written from memory by R. J. S Stevens." Given that this score contains twenty pages of music for voice and string orchestra, it is a remarkable feat of memory on the part of Stevens. No date is given on the manuscript, but the melodic style of the music indicates that this is a later work by Rauzzini. The aria is through-composed and has an extended instrumental introduction. The range is quite extended (b–d‴), requiring considerable

Example 6.1. Rauzzini, "Son contento della sorte," Aria, mm. 1–10.



agility, with passagework of up to eight measures that ascend to d‴ and leaps of nearly two octaves. One wonders if the music had not been composed for a singer such as Mrs. Billington, who was known for her ability to sing in the extreme range of her voice. It would seem unlikely that Rauzzini would have composed such difficult music for a younger student.

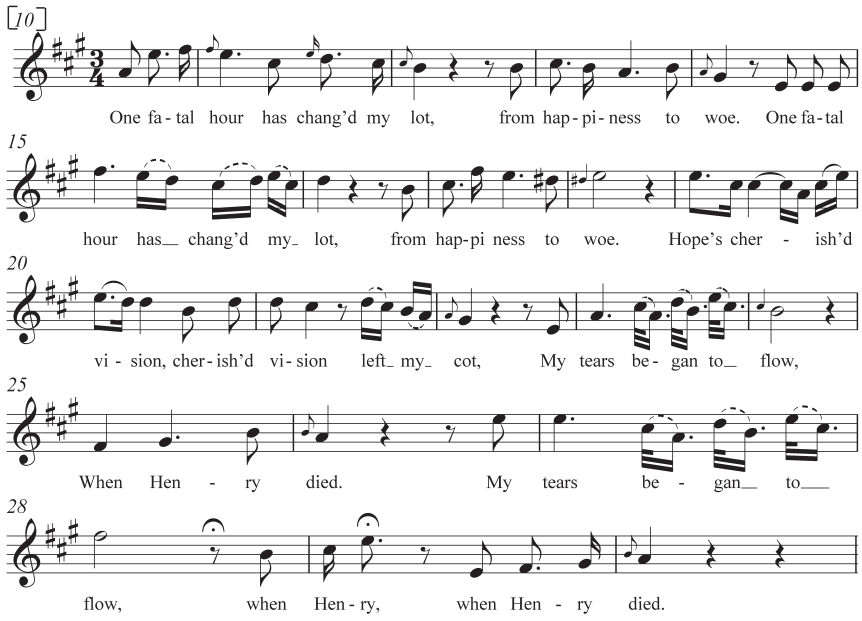
Rauzzini published many songs as separate entities later in his career with the leading British publishers. These were largely set to English texts and many were cast as ballads. That he would have turned to ballad composition is hardly surprising given the pressure put on him by the Bath press at the end of the eighteenth century (this situation is discussed in greater detail in chapter 7). The results were mixed, as the quality of the poetry that he set was sometimes indifferent. Since English was not Rauzzini's first language, he might not have been in the best position to judge poetic worth. At the same time, it is likely that he received some pressure from Bath society to set poems by local amateurs, often young ladies, for whom sentimental verse was already popular. One such example is "The Village Maid" (1788), introduced by Ann Cantelo at the Bath concerts.[66] This two-verse strophic air is in the ballad tradition, but is cleverly published in a manner that made it useful for domestic performance with keyboard or with an orchestra in concert situations. The score includes parts for flute, bassoon, two horns, and strings. A right-hand part for either keyboard or harp is included over the general bass line so that the music could be performed in domestic settings. The orchestration is quite sophisticated and reveals Rauzzini's ear for instrumental timbre. The text is a warning for maidens to guard their virtue against opportunistic men. It is sentimental and somewhat depressing in tone but not maudlin. Rauzzini set the text well and the song became quite popular. Although an example of concert vocal music on one hand, its melody is clearly intended for the amateur singer and it poses few vocal challenges. The second verse of text follows:

You mossy bank oft time recalls,
The Image of the blooming youth.
'Twas there he stole my easy heart,
With vows of constancy and truth.

Faint from her lips her accents flew,
And faintly beam'd her eyes so bright,
She sunk upon the mossy bank,
She sunk to everlasting light.

Some of the poems chosen were particularly unfortunate from the modern perspective. Peter Pindar's poem for the cantata *Old Oliver; or, The Dying Shepherd* attempts pathos but ends up with bathos instead: the six verses of the strophic setting relentlessly describe the pathetic situation of the death bed.[67] Perhaps worse is "When Henry Died," by G. F. Williams, of which Rauzzini's setting was published in 1808.[68] Whatever merits his music may have, it cannot obscure the banality of the text. While not likely ever to be revived, the song says much about the tastes of British audiences of the day. When the song was performed at the Bath concerts on December 18, 1805, by Mary Ashe, it was announced that the performance was "By particular desire," perhaps an indication that a prominent member of society had requested its inclusion. The complete first verse is seen in example 6.2.

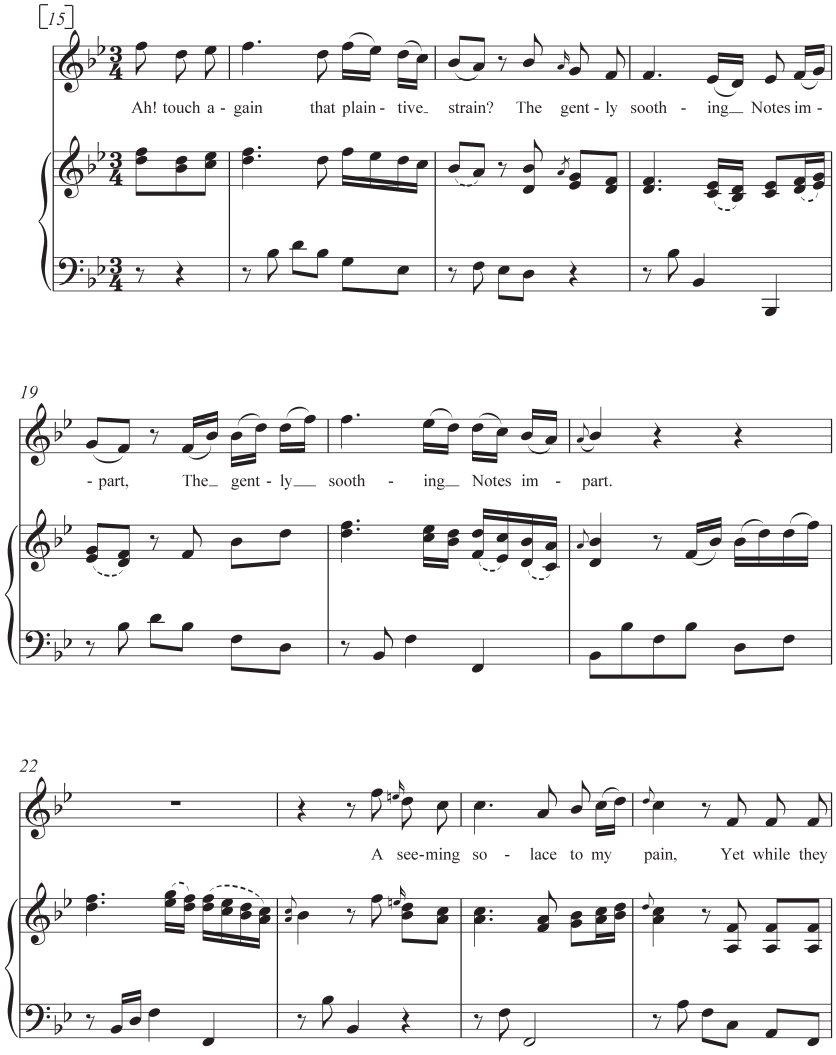
Other beauties are less grim, as the saying goes, and there are several of Rauzzini's published songs that would well serve the needs of modern-day recitalists. "Ah! Touch again the Plaintive Strain" was published in 1797.[69] The song was quite popular and was even published in Philadelphia by G. Willig a decade later. The poet's name is not given, but the poem is of good quality,

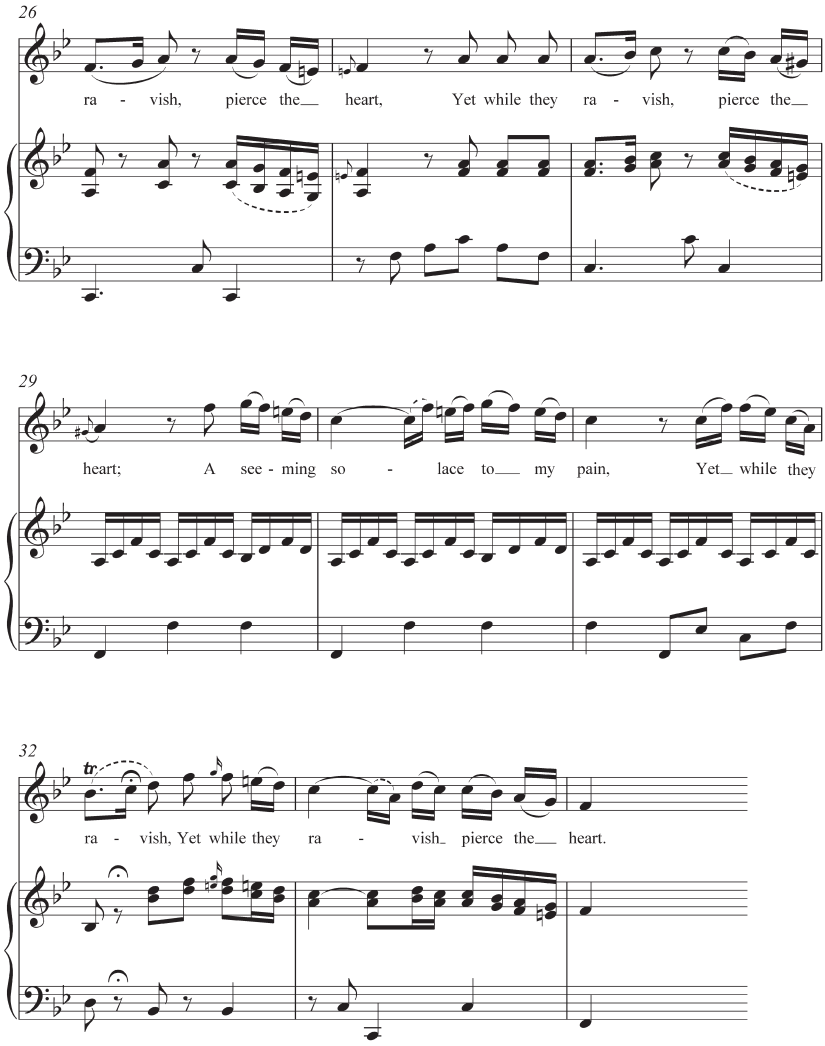
Example 6.2. Rauzzini, "When Henry Died," mm. 10–30.

10
One fa - tal hour has chang'd my lot, from hap - pi - ness to woe. One fa - tal
15
hour has chang'd my lot, from hap - pi ness to woe. Hope's cher - ish'd
20
vi - sion, cher - ish'd vi - sion left my cot, My tears be - gan to flow,
25
When Hen - ry died. My tears be - gan to
28
flow, when Hen - ry, when Hen - ry died.

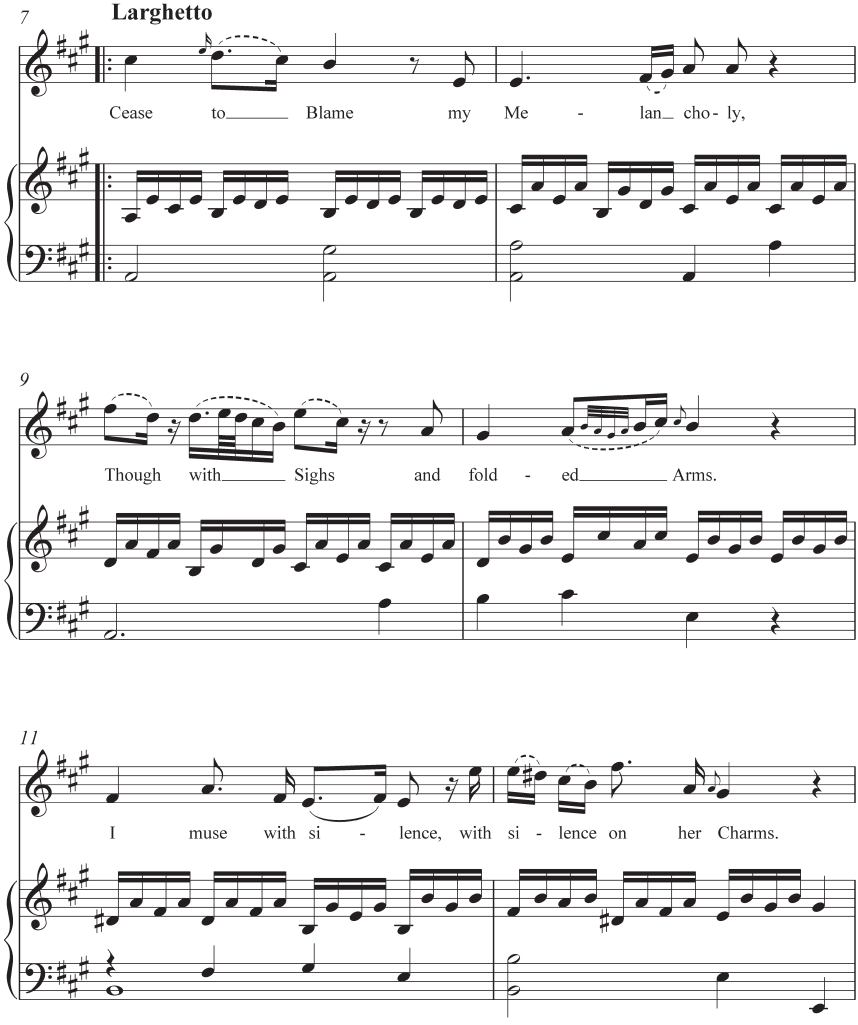
even if the subject matter is tried and true. The shepherdess, Delia, has refused the poet, thus breaking his heart. The two verses are set strophically, each ending with an extended refrain. The music is elegant and restrained, with the piano part well conceived, and often quite independent of the voice (ex. 6.3). "Cease to Blame my Melancholy," based on an anonymous text, was published around 1797.[70] This song is particularly beautiful, having an elegant melody that is well supported by rich harmonies. The setting shows that Rauzzini was prepared to deviate from the strictures of ballad setting. Here, the verses are set up in a large-scale rounded binary form with repeats. The keyboard writing is idiomatic and often completely separate from the vocal line. Of particular interest are the extended prelude and postlude. The latter is accomplished jointly with the voice and piano, with the word "melancholy" extended by the singer through melismatic treatment, while the keyboard part is harmonically unstable through the use of Neapolitan harmony, aptly portraying the poet's tortured state of mind. Examples 6.4 and 6.5 show the opening and conclusion of the song.

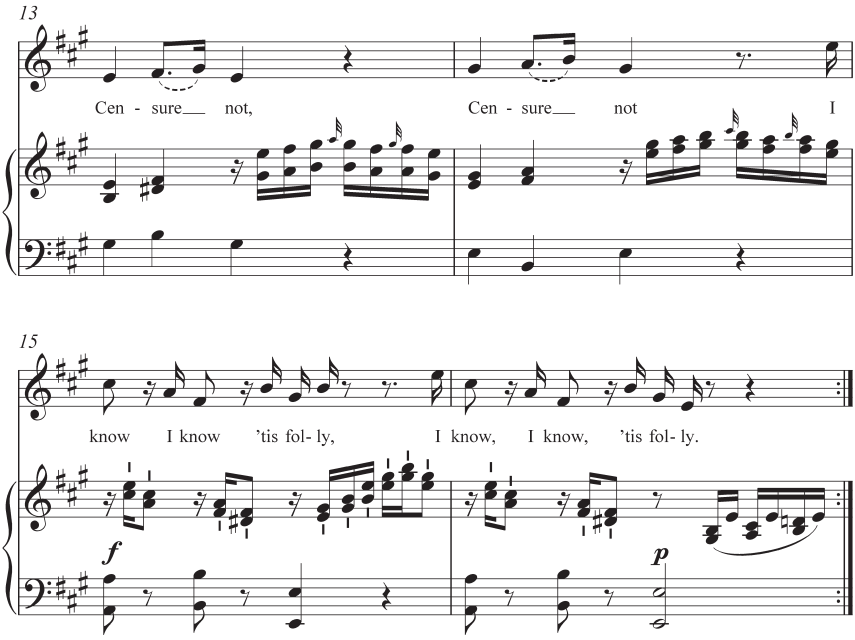
Rauzzini did not publish another vocal collection until 1797, when he began to release music in installments for a publication called *A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music*.[71] The title page indicates that the music had not been previously published, although a couple that had in fact been published were eventually included. The entire collection was dedicated to the Duchess of York, with her permission. This publication was initially undertaken by Rauzzini himself, although it was distributed by Longman & Broderip in London and other music sellers. The music contained in the collection is not dated, so it is not possible to ascertain whether or not all of it was recent. Since the works in each volume were released sequentially, there is a variety of paper types and quality represented. The list of subscribers given at the end of the first volume contains an impressive 288 names, including the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, and the Duchess of York. In addition to highly placed members of society, old friends from Rauzzini's London days, such as Lady Clarges, Louisa Harris, and Mr. and Mrs. Piozzi, are represented, as are his former colleagues and pupils. Also included on the list is William Shield, presumably the former resident composer at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. The music was published in two volumes (of 136 and 81 pages respectively) and the entire collection was reprinted in London around 1803 by Goulding and Company.

The collection contains texts in English and Italian, with a surprisingly high percentage of the music being set to Italian texts. The names of poets are infrequently mentioned, although Metastasio's name warranted notice, as did Peter Sherkston and Peter Pindar amongst the authors of English texts. While much of the music would have been heard at Rauzzini's concerts with orchestral accompaniment, keyboard reductions are the norm in the publication although some have parts for additional concertante instruments. It is

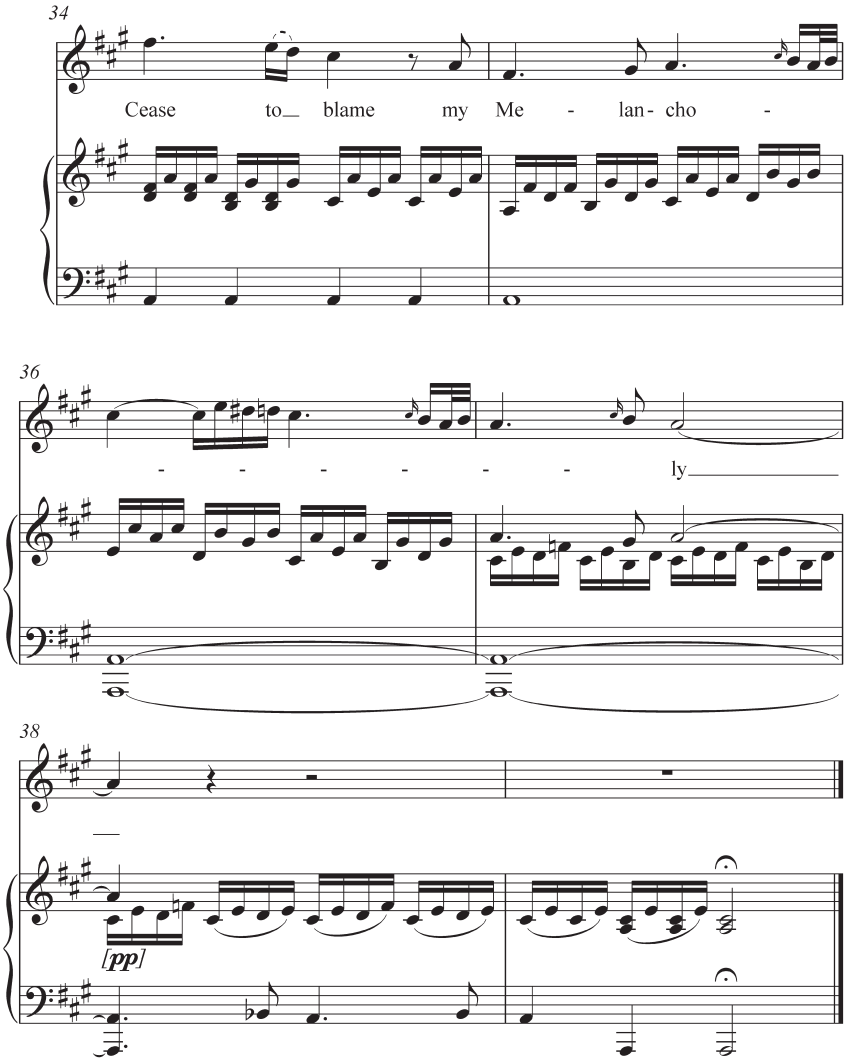
Example 6.3. Rauzzini, “Ah! Touch again the Plaintive Strain,” vocal line, mm. 15–34.

15
Ah! touch a - gain that plain - tive_ strain? The gent - ly sooth - ing__ Notes im -
19
- part, The_ gent - ly__ sooth - ing__ Notes im - part.
22
A see-ming so - lace to my pain, Yet while they

Example 6.3.—*(concluded)*

26
ra - vish, pierce the heart, Yet while they ra - vish, pierce the
29
heart; A see - ming so - lace to my pain, Yet while they
32
tr
ra - vish, Yet while they ra - vish pierce the heart.

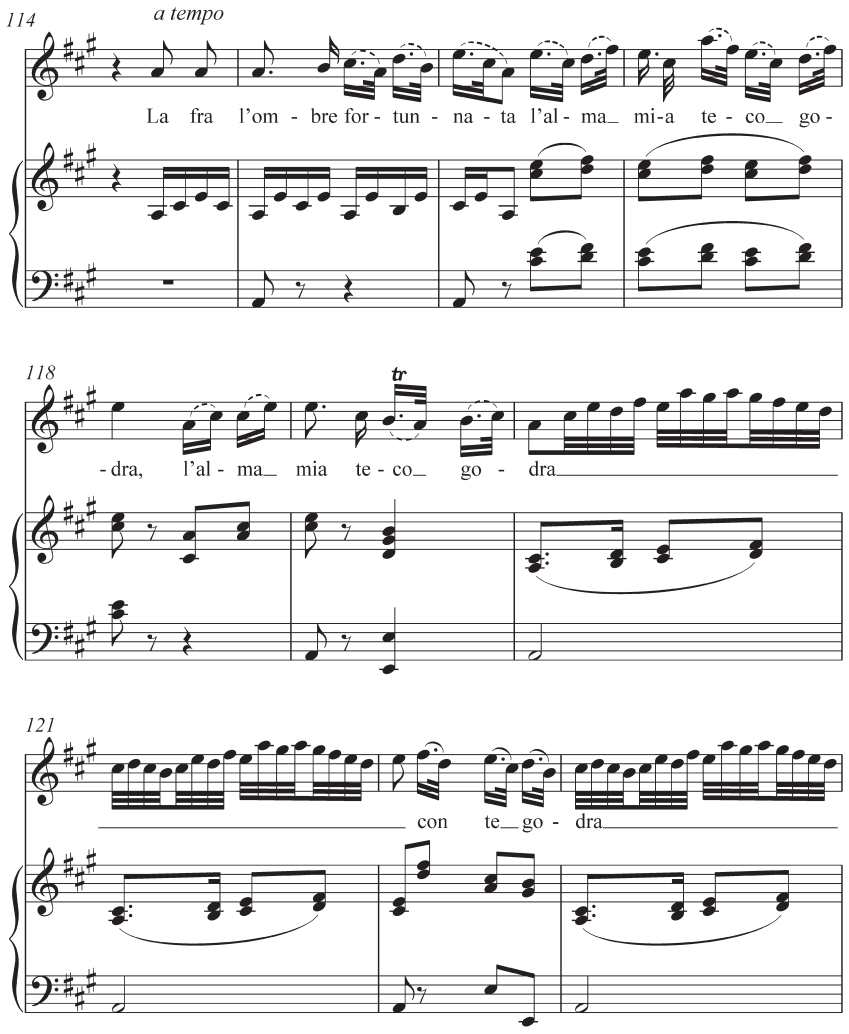
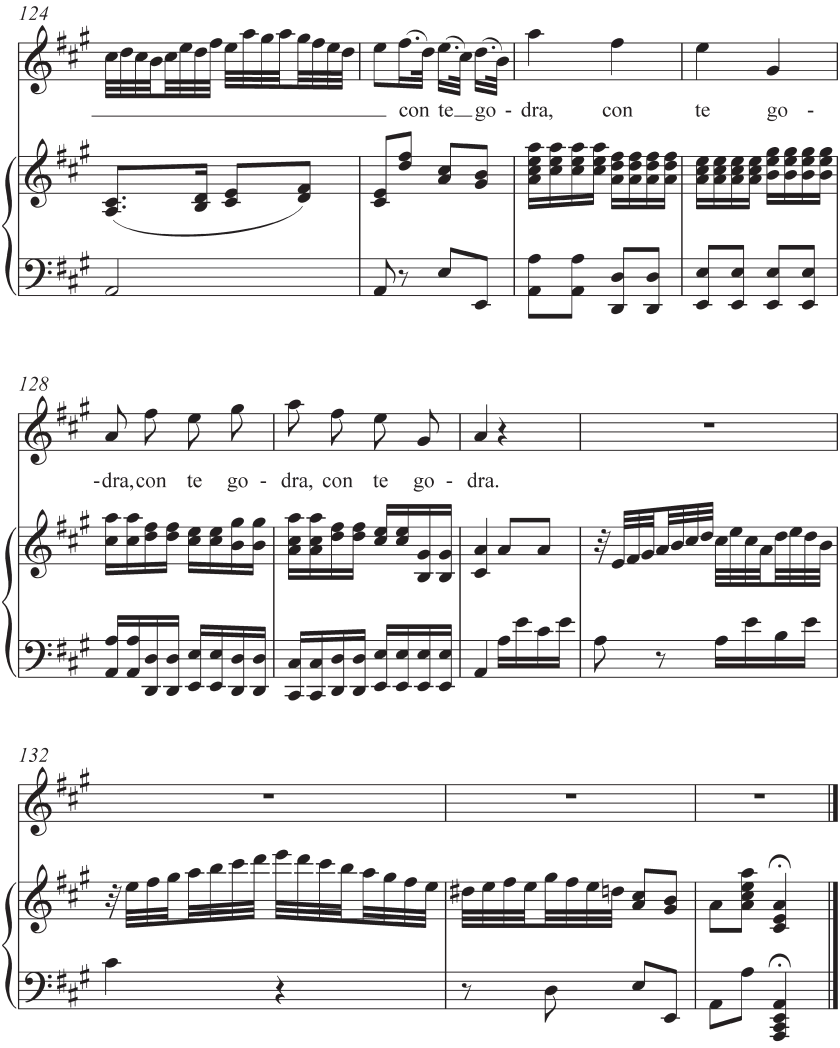
Example 6.4. Rauzzini, “Cease to Blame my Melancholy,” mm. 7–16.

7
Larghetto
Cease to Blame my Me - lan- cho- ly,
9
Though with Sighs and fold - ed Arms.
11
I muse with si - lence, with si - lence on her Charms.

Example 6.4.—*(concluded)*

possible that Rauzzini wanted to publish this collection because there had not been a large market for music set to Italian texts during the final decade of his life, while many of his ballads set to English texts had enjoyed considerable popularity as individual publications. This may account for the relative paucity of ballads in the collection.[72] Other works fall into the category of true concert song regardless of whether or not the text is in Italian or English.

The scena "Ch'io ti lascia cor mio! / Di te scordarmi e vivere" was composed for Gertrud Elizabeth Mara, a singer of true greatness who was an important drawcard for Rauzzini's concerts.[73] There survives a caricature by John Nixon from 1796 which portrays Mara in concert, accompanied by a somewhat chubby and cherubic-looking Rauzzini.[74] By 1797, Mara's voice was beginning to show signs of wear, although she retained her abilities for bravura singing. It is likely that the music was tailor-made to show the singer to her best advantage. It is unfortunate that the original orchestral scoring has not survived. Rauzzini's *scena* is known to have been performed by her at the concert of January 2, 1799. The opening text is drawn from Calzabigi's 1770 libretto for Gluck's opera *Paride ed Elena* (act 4, scene 3), although it is considerably rearranged from the original. The second part, beginning with "La fra l'ombre," remains unidentified, although its source is likely from an opera libretto. The opening section of the two-part structure is through-composed and imposes

Example 6.5. Rauzzini, "Cease to Blame my Melancholy," mm. 34–39.

few technical demands. The Allegretto is cast as a rondo and explores rapid articulations and passagework. Although the passagework is difficult, the music does not ascend higher than a″ and the tessitura is quite moderate. This likely reflects the state of Mara's voice at this time, an instrument that, in her prime, had easily ascended to e‴.

There are some particularly attractive ensemble pieces in the two volumes of this collection that would easily bear modern revival. The "Duettino Notturno"

Example 6.6. Rauzzini, “Di te scordarmi e vivere,” mm. 114–34.

Example 6.6.—*(concluded)*

(vol. 1, 13–18) contains a full piano accompaniment in addition to a version for instrumental ensemble of two horns, two flutes (or violins), and bassoon (or cello). "Ah! voi dite Erbose Sponde" is a rondo for three voices, with a keyboard accompaniment. The individual voice parts are not difficult; however, there would be considerable pedagogical value in this music for younger singers in the areas of tuning and balance. Similarly, "Ombre amiche," also a terzetto with keyboard accompaniment, contains the same pedagogical values as well as potentially offering audiences music that is both melodically attractive and harmonically rich.

The needs of the more modestly endowed singers are represented by English songs such as "Air" ("Ah! Rose! Thou has fled from a Throne"; vol. 1, 20–21), "Bow the Head" (vol. 1, 63–65), "The Reconciliation" (vol. 2, 150–54), and some of the simpler ballads. The works in Italian usually require a more developed technique, although not all were composed with virtuosi in mind. The cantata *Il Consiglio*, with a text by Metasasio, does not require coloratura singing, nor is the range wide, being c′–f″ and staying within an octave for most of the piece (vol. 1, 55–62). There are demands for stamina, however, since it contains two recitative-aria pairs, the last aria of which covers four pages. Throughout the collection the accompaniments even to the simplest songs have been given careful consideration by the composer. The keyboard writing is idiomatic, and great care has been extended to giving singers enough support without covering their voices. Dynamics are carefully indicated in the score and Rauzzini's very considerable ability to compose for keyboard is revealed in the writing.

Although this examination of Rauzzini's output in the area of concert vocal music must, of needs, be brief, hopefully it will reveal that there is much of value in this repertoire. The songs and duets with full accompaniment especially deserve to be examined today by singers and pedagogues. A careful selection of songs, perhaps avoiding the most sentimental poetry, will provide much pleasure to both singers and audiences.

Chapter Seven

The Bath Concerts

Rauzzini's Concerts in the 1780s

Although the concerts that Rauzzini presented in Bath under his management were in many ways similar to those which he had codirected with La Motte, a significant social change had been effected when Rauzzini took over: a castrato had assumed a position of cultural leadership for one of the most affluent audiences in Britain. La Motte's earlier involvement with the Bath concerts had maintained a veneer of tradition which kept complaints about the possible negative influence of the castrato voice in check. When Rauzzini undertook sole management of the concerts, he invited the distrust of those who believed that a castrato either was incapable of effective decision-making or, worse, might unsettle the accepted norms of society. Until the outbreak of war with France in 1793, Rauzzini's wise stewardship of the concert series appears to have kept such fears largely in check. Thereafter, he was open to occasional complaints that appear to have arisen out of xenophobic interests and fear over the outcome of the war.

Rauzzini inherited a successful formula for his concerts, and continued to present miscellaneous programs with orchestra in two parts or "Acts." The concerts usually began in the second week of November and finished by the end of January. Although Rauzzini initially continued the earlier practice of offering a subscription of ten concerts, this was eventually reduced to eight concerts, to be followed by a possible subscription of two or three concerts during Holy Week. The drawing card of the main subscription series remained the presence of illustrious vocal and instrumental soloists. Although the concerts began with an "overture" (most likely a symphony) by Stamitz, Pleyel or especially in later years, Haydn, the bulk of the evening was given over to songs, arias, and concertos. Initially, Rauzzini programmed recent music in his concerts. After 1784, he decided to capitalize upon the British fascination with the music of Handel and divided his two acts into "Modern" and "Antient" music. The act that contained "Ancient" music (the modern spelling is used hereafter) featured primarily Handel's music. The latter had died only in 1759 but his style was different from the recent German and Austrian music featured in the first

act of "Modern" music. Rauzzini incorporated a chorus in the later part of the 1780s so that it was possible to program individual choruses from the oratorios, odes, and anthems by Handel in addition to individual arias or instrumental selections. This increased the musical variety heard at the concerts, but it also increased their length. Given the evidence of the programs from the end of the decade found in appendix A, it must be assumed that the concerts were over two hours in duration.

While Rauzzini is usually referred to in the press of the day as conducting the concerts, he did so from the keyboard, much as Haydn did during his two visits to London in the 1790s,[1] rather than standing in front of the orchestra. Inevitably, this would have put some of the responsibility for cuing orchestral entrances on the principal violinist. Rauzzini never deviated from this practice. A review in the *Bath Journal* on January 15, 1810, of his final benefit concert on January 10, records, "our worthy conductor was cheered on his arriving at his usual post (the piano-forte) by more than eleven hundred persons of fashion, fortune, and respectability." Rauzzini was a fine keyboard player and he would have had no problem in providing harmonic support as necessary.

The Orchestra

An orchestra of high quality was a crucial part of the success of the concerts in Bath. There were a limited number of professional orchestral musicians in the city and they usually played for all concerts, town balls, and theatrical performances. There were also talented amateurs, but one could not count on raising an orchestra of quality with only amateur players. As long as the various groups for whom the professional players worked cooperated with scheduling, the results could be equable. Unfortunately, Rauzzini fell victim in 1780 to the continuing tensions between the various managers of the places of entertainment that had emerged in previous years.[2] The resentment over the prominence given to the New Rooms over the Old Assembly Rooms continued to simmer, casting a pall on relationships within the performing community. As noted in chapter 4, La Motte and Rauzzini had struck a deal with John Palmer at the Theatre Royal that permitted them to use the musicians from the theater's orchestra. This was a stop-gap measure, at best. Palmer ultimately was convinced to change his performance evening from Wednesday to Thursday, but when the number of balls on Thursday evenings increased, depleting the audience at the Theatre Royal, Palmer reverted to his previous schedule. This time, no accommodation was made for Rauzzini's concerts and Palmer's musicians became unavailable.[3] The matter was of considerable importance because keeping its visitors entertained and happy was a strong economic incentive for the city. The *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* commented on November 30, 1780, that "so great a part of the band, from the play being on the same night . . . must be a great injury to Signor Rauzzini." While the critic

thought that this was unfortunate for both Rauzzini and his audiences, he concluded that Palmer had the right to perform on the nights that he thought most beneficial to him.

The same newspaper reported a week later, on December 7, that "it is with great satisfaction we hear that some Gentlemen of the first consequence intend calling a public meeting of the subscribers to the balls, &c. to consider of a proper mode of settling the amusements of the place on an equable, permanent footing." It is possible that some kind of agreement between Rauzzini and Palmer was eventually made that allowed the most necessary musicians to perform at Rauzzini's concerts, but Palmer only altered his new schedule on one occasion during that season. This was on December 20, 1780, the evening of the benefit concert for the oboist J. C. Fisher. According to the *Bath Journal* on December 18, 1780, the change was made "as a particular Compliment to [Fischer's] merits, and that he may have the assistance of the Whole Band from the theatre, the Play for this Week only will be on the Thursday instead of the Wednesday." The effect of Palmer's actions on Rauzzini's 1780–81 concerts was significant. The concert series ended limply when Rauzzini had to postpone his final concert from January 24, 1781, to the morning of the January 27 to accommodate Tenducci's need to be in London for the Bach-Abel concerts on the twenty-forth. A concert on a Saturday morning did not attract the audience for which Rauzzini had hoped; the best that Rauzzini could take away from this season in Bath was the City's promise of better organization of the amusements in the future. Unfortunately, the success of the efforts by the "Gentlemen of the first consequence" to settle the matter must be questioned. Newspaper advertisements in October 1781 still show the Royal Theatre performing on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings.

Soloists

The presence of high-profile soloists was the focus that made the concerts successful. Whilst La Motte was still alive, more instrumentalists than singers were engaged. Of these, J. C. Fischer was the undeniable "star" of the woodwind performers. He was a particular audience favorite and was often listed in the Bath newspapers as appearing "at the request of the subscribers." Fischer had arrived in London in 1768 and quickly established himself as a great virtuoso. He was involved, along with J. C. Bach and K. F. Abel, in Queen Charlotte's musical household after 1774 and was a regular performer at the Bach-Abel concerts in London. Fischer's musical pedigree ensured that his name on the Bath concert programs held considerable weight.

After Rauzzini assumed sole charge of the Bath concerts, he could not perform as a soloist as often as he had in the past, a point decried in the press on several occasions. One of Rauzzini's first tasks as the concert director was to add new names to the roster of soloists. Both Fischer and De Camp returned

to Bath, but Rauzzini wisely introduced violinists such as François-Hippolyte Barthélemon and Dieudonné-Pascal Pieltain to the Bath audiences. Although these performers were well known to London audiences, it was the introduction of the castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci in 1780 that attracted significant attention. Although nearing the end of his career, he was still a very popular singer. Rauzzini needed such Continental performers to appeal to the annual influx of visitors to the city, a group whose tastes in music had been influenced by the domination of Continental musicians in London. This is not to say that Rauzzini ignored British artists altogether. James Brooks took over the role of first violin later in the decade and singers such Charles Incledon, Ann Cantelo, Miss Storer, and Maria Poole were also featured in the 1780s. Several of these singers were also students of Rauzzini and their presence on the programs served to reinforce his prestige as a teacher. At the same time, the British singers were often accorded a distinctly second-tier status until the arrival of Samuel Harrison (ca. 1760–1812) in 1788. Harrison had begun his singing career as a boy soprano but achieved his great fame as a tenor in the most prestigious concerts in London with appearances in the Bach-Abel concerts and the Concert of Ancient Music.[4] Rauzzini still took no chances with his advertising in 1788, trumpeting "the justly celebrated Mr. Harrison from London," lest his name be confused with any other British singer. The singer performed in Bath for only two seasons, and his final performance there took place on December 30, 1789. During those two seasons, his presence helped address imbalances between foreign-born and native British artists.

Benefit Concerts

Given how much the success of the series depended upon the famous soloists, it may come as a surprise that they were not paid for their performances until 1795, but depended upon the proceeds of a benefit night as their reward. An advertisement in the *Bath Journal* on December 18, 1780, for Fischer's benefit concert two days later, states: "Mr. Fischer [has] no Emolument whatever for his Performance at the concerts, but what he derives from his Benefit, tho' generally considered as their chief support." This statement suggests the rather unsubtle insinuation that, should his audience desert him, Fischer might not return in the future. The system of benefit evenings was a common practice in both the musical and theatrical worlds, although it was usually an opportunity given to principal actors and singers to augment their negotiated salaries. In Bath, it was the only way for soloists at Rauzzini's concerts to earn their keep. Although the other soloists volunteered their services on such evenings, it was left to the artist whose benefit evening it was to pay the orchestra and hall expenses. Presumably, Rauzzini was able to convince his visiting soloists that the proceeds from a well-attended benefit concert in Bath could

potentially make their brief time in the city lucrative. At the same time, it was an unpredictable way to ensure one's livelihood. Fischer's final benefit concert on January 4, 1786, was so poorly attended because of a storm that he was persuaded to repeat the concert at noon on Saturday, January 14.

Scheduling was a matter often requiring some diplomacy because the more prestigious soloists were given benefit concerts on evenings earlier in the season than were the more junior soloists. A benefit concert held before Christmas stood a better chance of attracting a larger audience than one in March, a time when many of the transient members of the audience were preparing to leave Bath. Given that the more junior soloists were often British, it could appear as if they were second-class citizens in their own country, in being denied their fair share of the concert revenues. Further complicating the situation was that the "star" foreign soloists often declined to participate in these concerts. Miss Storer's benefit concert in 1783 was the last of the season and lacked any big names in the line-up. In spite of this, the concert was a success: the *Bath Journal* proudly trumpeted on April 14, 1783, that "though neither the names of Tenducci, Rauzzini, Fischer, nor Guest graced the orchestra, there were upwards of 500 persons present—which clearly evinces that the people of fashion frequenting Bath when they meet with *superior merit* tho' the product of their own clime, will reward it tho' unassisted by foreign attractions."[5] It would appear evident, however, that there was resentment over the preferential treatment given to the foreign musicians in some quarters.

A particularly difficult diplomatic situation arose in 1787 for Rauzzini when it was announced on December 1 that the famous soprano Gertrud Elizabeth Mara (1749–1833) had agreed to sing at the concert on December 5. The presence of Mara was an undeniable coup for Rauzzini. She had taken part in the performances of Rauzzini's *La vestale* earlier that year in London, and they appear to have become friends. After childhood appearances in London between 1759 and 1765, Mara returned to Germany and eventually became a star of the Berlin opera.[6] Her appearances in London at the King's Theatre after 1784 were widely heralded. According to the *Bath Chronicle* on December 6, 1787, she was promised a benefit concert in return for her performance on December 5. A benefit concert after a single concert was highly irregular. It also aroused the ire of many because the date had previously been promised to Ann Cantelo, a local favorite. As reported by the *Bath Chronicle* on December 27, 1787, Cantelo had little choice but to relinquish her benefit evening until January 9, 1788.[7] The Bath Central Library holds an uncatalogued copy of the handbill for Mara's benefit evening:

> Act 1: [J. C.] Bach: Overture (Double Orchestra); Hook: Song, "Ma chère amie" (Charles Incledon); [Unidentified] Quartetto; Sarti: "Caro bene amato oggetto" (Marie Pieltain); [Unidentified] Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Caruso: "So che dovrei godere" (Mara).

Act 2: Hadyn: [Unidentified] Symphony; Greswick: "Ah! Disponidimia sorte" (Mara); [Unidentified Concertante]; Bianchi: "Sembranze amabili" (Ann Cantelo); Kozeluck: [Unidentified] Piano Concerto (Jane Guest); Handel: *Theodora*, "Angels ever bright and fair" (?Mara); [Unidentified] Full Piece.

Either Ann Cantelo bore Mara no ill will over the loss of her benefit date, or she feared incurring the ire of the more famous singer, since Cantelo agreed to sing at the concert. Other singers included Charles Incledon and Mrs. Pieltain, the former Marie Chanu. Mara, who sang very little, could hardly have complained about the quality of the other supporting artists when instrumentalists of the quality of Jane Guest and Dieudonné Pascal Pieltain also took part.

Ticket Prices

Given that Rauzzini was financially responsible for the entire series, he had to pay any losses personally. This meant that it was necessary to find a subscription price that was sufficient to cover costs and provide a part of his income. Judging just how much the market could bear was always a concern. The most highly placed members of the nobility could afford to pay a considerable amount, but too high a subscription cost might discourage visitors of less exalted social standing whose support was crucial if a large number of subscribers was to be maintained. While tickets to individual concerts could be purchased, Rauzzini preferred a full subscription, which came with a price advantage. During the final years of the joint management of the concerts by Rauzzini and La Motte, a differential scheme of payments in which men paid twice as much as women was in place. Rauzzini did not raise his prices for his first season as sole director. Tickets were generally transferable, and one gentleman's ticket could be used to admit two ladies. It appears that there were issues with non-subscribers attempting to listen to the rehearsals. The *Bath Journal* for October 22, 1781, published a warning that "none but subscribers, or purchasers of tickets, [were] to be admitted to the rehearsal."

By mid-decade Rauzzini abandoned his differential payment scheme. According to the *Bath Chronicle* on November 1, 1784, the cost of a subscription ticket for either sex became one guinea for the 1784–85 concerts; the cost of an individual ticket remained at five shillings. There was also a change of rules in the transferring of tickets so that a lady could give her ticket to another lady but not to a gentleman. The gentlemen, however, were not similarly encumbered. One must question why the rule was changed in this way when the cost of the subscription tickets was the same, unless there was some fear of impropriety. This fee scheme remained in use until the 1789–90 season, when Rauzzini reverted to the earlier differential payment scheme. The reasons for this change were demonstrably clear: Rauzzini had been losing money in the previous years. Critics may have attempted to portray him as the foreigner who had come to Britain to live in high luxury off the

caprices of the "Company" and at the expense of native musicians, but the truth appears to have been quite different. Running a concert series as high-profile as the Bath subscription series was an expensive undertaking even if the soloists were not paid, and Rauzzini had found himself out of pocket at the conclusion of several previous seasons.

Rauzzini sent out a very brief announcement of a proposed concert series to begin on November 11, 1789, but the wording gave little further information. When the more detailed advertisements were published, the prices had been raised and the differential fee scheme had been reintroduced. This was met with disapproval by an audience used to the subscription fees being equal and set at one guinea each. Rauzzini addressed the problem head-on in an open letter published in both the *Bath Chronicle* (November 5, 1789) and the *Bath Journal* (November 9, 1789). The accounting was clearly laid out:

> Mr. Rauzzini is greatly concerned to hear that the Addition to the Gentlemen's Subscription is not generally approved, but hopes every objection will be removed when the Public and informed, that the Expenditures of the last Winter's Concert amounted to 521 4 9
> The Receipts for subscription, & cash at the door 453 6 6
>
> Loss sustained by Mr. Rauzzini £67 18 3

The loss of nearly sixty-eight pounds was significant; it is thus evident that Rauzzini was not acting merely from avarice when he raised the ticket prices. The published letter continues:

> The subscribers and the Public in general will see the impossibility of continuing the scheme without alterations;—either the terms of the subscription must be raised, or the expence [*sic*] of the Concerts must be reduced—A most unpleasing alternative! The latter mode cannot be adopted, without rendering less attractive a Course of Concerts, which it has ever been, Mr. Rauzzini's inclination and pride to bring forward in a line of respectability:—On which terms alone, he hoped for the support of the public, which is and ever will be his unremitting endeavour to deserve.

Indeed, Rauzzini's choices were few, if he was going to continue the concert series. Although the soloists only got the proceeds of their benefit evenings at this time, the concerts remained expensive to produce. The soloists could only expect a good turnout at their benefits as long as the concerts themselves were presented along the grandest lines. For those who did not believe that he was losing money, Rauzzini invited any interested parties to examine his books at his home in Queen Square. The concert series was too important to allow it to decline, and Rauzzini got his way. A possibly satiric comment found its way in the *World* on November 23, 1789: "Rauzzini prospers—550 people were at his last Wednesday's Concert."

Interference from the Audience

Rauzzini's audiences were some of the most privileged in all of Britain. They may have objected to his raising the ticket prices in 1789, but the concert series had an important social value. It was crucial to be seen in public, and to appear to have influence over the entertainments that others enjoyed. Some in the audience considered these entertainments to be their own, and believed that they had the right to influence the choice of performers and repertoire. Such interference could even take place once a concert had started, as was revealed in a review of a benefit concert for Tenducci given on January 9, 1782. The event had attracted some 450 patrons, a fair number for the period especially since the concert conflicted with two private balls. Miss Storer began the concert with a performance of "Auld Robin Gray" and, according to the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on January 14, 1782, was obliged to repeat the song at the beginning of the second act at the specific request of the Duchess of Chandos. Rauzzini likely believed that he was in no position to refuse a request from someone so highly placed in the aristocracy.

Sometimes even well-intentioned interference resulted in unfortunate results. Rauzzini had been persuaded to include the soprano Signora Domenico Corri as a soloist in a couple of his concerts in the 1781–82 season. Mrs. Corri, as she was known in Britain, had been in declining health and had come to Bath to take the waters. She agreed to sing in four of Rauzzini's concerts for free on the promise of being given a benefit evening, the proceeds of which would help defray her expenses of staying in Bath. The intentions of Corri's supporters and those of Rauzzini in the matter appear to have been of the best kind; unfortunately, some in the local community complained that she had inveigled herself into the concerts at the expense of other artists. Mrs. Corri felt obliged to publish a letter in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* on November 15, 1781, outlining the circumstances that had originally brought her to Bath and protesting that she had no "intention to intrude herself on the Managers of the Concert by way of getting a Benefit." Unfortunately, since "not more tickets [were sold] than defrayed the bare expences [*sic*]," she believed that "no one can with truth accuse her of having either begged upon, or intruded on, any person whatever."

Mrs. Corri's letter, although likely written for her by a supporter, reveals that her experience in Bath had not been all that positive and that her benefit evening had not been a financial boon because of the criticisms that had been circulating in the city. It does not appear that Mrs. Corri sang in any of Rauzzini's concerts again until 1792 when her name was listed as a soloist in the performance of *Messiah* on December 24. On that occasion, she sang with her daughter, Sophia Giustina Corri (1775–ca. 1831), now one of the principal singers of Rauzzini's 1792–93 season. She performed under her married name of Mrs. Dussek, as she was the wife of the composer Jan

Ladislav Dussek. Mrs. Corri was also advertised in the notices for her daughter's benefit concert on January 9, 1793.

Concert and theater programs of the period often make use of the annotation "by desire" or "by particular desire." This likely was an indication of the popularity of a piece of music or a play. Whether or not the presence of the phrases in Rauzzini's concert programs was the result of his own judgment of audience tastes or the direct request of an influential member of audience is difficult to ascertain from this distance. One finds the phrase "at the request of the company" in the program given on December 18, 1781, which might indicate a direct response to an audience request. Regardless, the use of these phrases provides a window on audience tastes, not all of which were the most elevated. Examination of the concert repertoires listed in appendix A reveals that sentimental ballads such as Hook's "Ma chère amie" and Relfe's "Mary's Dream" had considerable popularity. One wonders if this was the kind of repertoire that Rauzzini would have preferred to perform. Other compositions of a more substantial nature must also have found favor with a large segment of the audience. The opening concert of the 1783–84 concerts included the overture to Piccinni's opera *La buona figliola* (1760) "by particular desire." Later in the decade, when Handel's music was performed in the second part of most concerts, the same phrase is frequently seen accompanying specific overtures, arias, and choruses.

Rauzzini could occasionally resist audience demands to a degree. He appears to have been suspicious of child prodigies, especially one such as William Crotch who was advertised as "The Self-Taught Musical Child" by the *Bath Journal* on November 10, 1783. During the 1783–84 season Rauzzini was encouraged by members of society to employ the eight-year-old Crotch. Although he did eventually capitulate to their demand, the young lad was only allowed to play between the Acts of Ann Cantelo's benefit concert on January 24, 1784, the last of the significant benefit concerts for that season. Kenneth James sees Rauzzini's treatment of the boy as evidence of a resented intrusion into the management of his concerts: having the child play during the intermission when the audience members were not paying rapt attention was hardly the best showcase for young Crotch's talents.[8] In situations such as this, Rauzzini had to tread a very narrow path. Without the support of his influential audience, he would have had no concert series.

The Bath Concerts of 1781–83

Rauzzini was listed in the newspapers amongst the "significant" arrivals in Bath on July 30, 1781. In addition to undertaking the sole direction of the Bath concerts, he was concerned with his forthcoming opera, *L'eroe cinese*, for London. There is evidence to show that his first concert series in the role

of sole director did not live up to expectations, in spite of the addition of Tenducci to a roster of singers that also included Miss Storer, Rauzzini, and Domenica Corri, as well as occasional assisting artists.[9] Although the German violinist Johann Peter Salomon was brought in as the principal violinist to replace La Motte, it was likely the presence of Tenducci and Fischer that prevented the series from being considered a complete failure. The issue of the musicians from the theater not being able to play in Rauzzini's concerts has been discussed above, as have the complaints that arose from offering Domenica Corri a benefit concert. Luckily, other benefit concerts proved to be less fraught. Jane Guest's appearances were always warmly welcomed, and her annual benefit was presented on December 18, 1781, a prime time in the Bath season. A review of the concert states that Miss Guest's "concerto was new, elegant in itself, and most exquisitely performed." Given the season, it is not surprising that the second part of Miss Guest's concert consisted of "selections from the Messiah and other sacred compositions of Handel, Pergolesi, &c. in which Messrs. Rauzzini, Tenducci, Corse, and Miss Storer had ample scope for the execution of their talents," as the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported on December 28, 1781.

The drawing power of Tenducci, Fischer, and Miss Guest should not be underestimated. Rauzzini was quick to compose music for them that showcased their talents. "A Favorite SONG sung at the Concert at Bath by M^{r} Tenducci, Accompanied on the HAUTBOY by M^{r} Fischer, and on the PIANO FORTE by Miss GUEST" was published in London by Preston [1782?]. The publication consists of an opening recitative, "Ah perche mai l'ingrato così," and the aria "Sospiri miei dotenti." It is possible that the music is an arrangement by Rauzzini, rather than an original composition, since the publication includes the annotation: "The Hautboy and Piano Forte Parts composed by Sig^{r} Rauzzini." The published score gives parts for four-part strings, two flutes, and two horns, as well as solo oboe and solo piano, with the latter two instruments being given great prominence in the setting. The arrangement was cleverly handled by Rauzzini. The vocal melody is restrained and not florid. It showcased the mezzo, even contralto range, of Tenducci's voice, leaving it to the oboe and keyboard to provide the virtuoso thrills.

Tenducci's benefit concert was given on January 9, 1782, and contained some rare and unusual repertoire. Rauzzini's arrangement of Leo's *Miserere* was performed, with Tenducci and Rauzzini singing a duet that "yielded everything that superb taste, and sound judgment, with every power of execution, could possibly produce," according to the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on January 14, 1782. It appears that the Bath audiences would have preferred to have experienced even more of Rauzzini's singing, however. Two assisting artists also made an appearance: Mr. Corse, from Salisbury, and Miss Wheeler, who was advertised in the *Bath Journal* on January 7, 1782, as having "lately returned from Italy." This concert was a considerable undertaking, in that it

featured choral singing, as well as a *sinfonia concertante* by Davaux, unnamed piano and violin concertos, and various songs and vocal rondos. Given the amount of work that fell to Rauzzini to prepare for the concerts, it is not surprising that he found so little time to sing in public.

The *Bath Journal* records on January 14, 1782, that Rauzzini had been encouraged to propose a second set of two concerts for January 16 and 23. He had not made a profit on the principal series of concerts and it may be that this was an attempt to recoup some of his losses. Unfortunately, the first concert lost money and he was advised to cancel the second. Rauzzini, however, refused, and published the following notices in the *Bath Journal* on January 21, 1782:

> MR. RAUZZINI thinks it is his DUTY to signify his grateful Thanks to those subscribers who have express'd their wishes to give up the second and last Subscription CONCERT with a view to lessening the loss which he has suffer'd from the Concerts during the course of this season. . . . it is not from false pride that he declines their generous offer, but solely from considering it an indispensible [*sic*] duty to fulfil an engagement which he has contracted with the public.

Presumably, Rauzzini was counting on last-minute ticket sales to make the concerts financially successful, as he must have known that there were too few subscribers. While he lost heavily in the process, the press reports are more concerned with the local dissatisfaction with Rauzzini's lack of solo singing in the past seasons than on the state of his finances. A letter published in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on January 28, 1782, states: "Tenducci having left us to sing at Abel's Concert, in Hanover Square, occasioned Rauzzini to step forward; he favoured us with two airs, (for we may justly consider it as a favour, when 'tis known that except an air or two in the *Miserere* on Tenducci's night he has not exerted himself in a single song these two years)." It would seem apparent that Rauzzini was still viewed by the Bath audiences as being principally a performer rather than a composer or concert director and his refusal to sing frequently was a sticking point.

As to the repertoire that was performed, the account in the newspaper states that an unidentified overture by Haydn was on the program as well as songs such as "Auld Robin Grey," and a new composition by Rauzzini, "From place to place, forlorn I go," was performed by Miss Storer. In that piece, she was judged in the published review (above) to have "no equal." Rauzzini left Bath soon after, returning to London to supervise the premiere of his opera *L'eroe cinese* on March 16, 1782. Although he was praised in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on January 14, 1782, for having provided strong leadership to the concert season that gave "infinite credit to himself and, satisfaction to the company," one wonders if some of the dissatisfaction over aspects of the 1781–82 concert series resulted from the combined issues of Rauzzini's refusal

to sing regularly and his attention being divided between concert management in Bath and composing for London.

While in London preparing for the premiere of *L'eroe cinese*, Rauzzini took part in a concert presented for Miss Guest on March 15, 1782, at the New Rooms on Tottenham Street. A detailed list of the works to be performed was released to the newspapers, revealing that Rauzzini likely appeared both in the capacity of singer and composer:

> First Act.
> Overture–Haydon [*sic*]. Song, Signor Rauzzini, accompanied on the Piano Forte; Concerto Oboe, Fischer; Song, Miss Wheeler; Concerto Piano Forte, Miss Guest; Song, Signor Tenducci.—Handel.
>
> Second Act.
> Terzetto, Messrs. Tenducci, Rauzzini, and Miss Wheeler; Solo Violoncell, Mr. Reinagle; Song, Miss Wheeler; Concerto Violin, Mr. Pieltain; Song, Signor Tenducci—(Giordani)—Full Piece.

The audience got value for money at this long concert, although the ticket price at over ten shillings was a significant cost for a single concert. Rauzzini most likely sang his own compositions, with Miss Wheeler, in "her first appearance in London, since her return from Italy," taking the place of tenor, Giovanni Ansani, the usual singer in Rauzzini's terzetto. This octave substitution would have disturbed the musical textures, but the practice was hardly unknown. What fortepiano concerto Miss Guest played is more difficult to ascertain. It is known that she composed several works for her own use, but these were never published. One might conjecture that she played the same concerto as in Bath on December 18, which was described then as being a recent work. If this is true, it would seem unlikely that the concerto was by her former teacher, J. C. Bach, who had not composed a piano concerto in recent years.

Within ten days of the premiere of *L'eroe cinese*, Rauzzini, along with Tenducci, took part in performances of Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabæus*, which were presented in both Bristol and Bath. Unfortunately, it would appear that the castrato voice was not well known in Bristol. The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* ran stories on April 2 and 3 about the poor reception accorded to the two singers when they appeared in Bristol during March of that year. The first of the two accounts is presented in moderate terms. The Bristol audience "neither relished, nor affected to relish, the efforts Tenducci and Rauzzini made to charm them: they appeared to be thoroughly sensible of their excellence, but the moderation with which they dealt out their applause, evinced that it was not the species of excellence they wished most to encourage." The following day, the paper editorialized considerably: "the poor Signiors [*sic*] encountered a world of mortifications; the

rude *Bristolians*, uncorrupted by the vicious taste of the times, looked upon them as objects of ridicule rather than admiration." Rauzzini was quoted as saying, "*Pardi, je ne retournerai jamais dieu* [*sic*]*! parmi cette canaille de Bristol!*" It is telling that the author of the second notice equates the castrato voice with "corruption" and a "vicious taste."

After the first unhappy appearance in Bristol, Tenducci claimed to be indisposed and would not return there. Rauzzini soldiered on. According to the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on April 3, 1782, his reception was even worse on the second night. The Passion Week performances ended in Bath on March 31, with *Messiah*. Neither Tenducci nor Rauzzini sang much in the performance. Tenducci continued to be indisposed vocally, and Rauzzini was accused of being "very indolent indeed," although he was credited in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* of April 4, 1782, with singing "I know that my Redeemer liveth" with "exquisite taste." Given their earlier treatment in Bristol, one might well imagine that neither singer felt much like performing.

The following season of Bath concerts (1782–83) proved to be Tenducci's last appearances in Bath as a principal singer.[10] Whether or not Rauzzini knew of this likelihood when he programmed the season cannot be stated with certainty, but the concerts which featured Tenducci in operatic roles stand out in contrast to the concerts of previous seasons and one wonders if Rauzzini created these programs with the thought of enticing Tenducci to return for future concert seasons. While none of the operas, serenatas, and cantatas was staged, the performances provided both Tenducci and Rauzzini the opportunity to sing complete roles. This must have pleased those who had previously lamented Rauzzini's lack of singing in the concert series. The list of dramatic works follows, as compiled from advertisements in the *Bath Journal* on November 18 and 25, and December 2, 16, and 23, 1782:

November 20, 1782: J. C. Bach: The "celebrated *Serenata of Aurora.*" [This is likely a reference to Bach's cantata (closer to a serenata) *Cefalo e Procri*, which had been given its premiere in 1776 in the Hanover Square Rooms.] (Cefalo: Rauzzini; Procri: Miss Storer; Aurora: Tenducci).

November 25, 1782: Gluck: *Orfeo*, "*at the particular desire of the Subscribers.*" (Orfeo: Tenducci; Euridice: Miss Storer; Amor: Rauzzini).

December 4, 1782: J. C. Bach: *Rinaldo ed Armida.* (Rinaldo: Tenducci; Armida: Miss Cantelo; Ubaldo: Rauzzini).

December 30, 1782: Rush/Tenducci: *Amintas* ["An English Drama"]. (Amintas: Tenducci; Alexander: Mr. Parry; Agenor: Mr. Corse; Eliza: Miss Storer; Thamiris: Rauzzini).

It is evident that the season was meant primarily as a showcase for Tenducci: even Miss Guest's benefit evening on December 18 included Bach's *Rinaldo ed Armida* during the second act. The presence of Gluck's opera in the list is predictable given that Tenducci had popularized *Orfeo* in London, and he frequently sang the aria, "Che farò senza Euridice" in concert. *Amintas*, on the other hand, was hardly a popular work. It was Tenducci's own reworking of George Rush's *The Royal Shepherd* (1764), itself based on Metastasio's libretto for *Il re pastore*. The presentation of *Amintas* must have been a special concession to Tenducci, on whose benefit night of January 15, 1783, it was even repeated. Tenducci's reworking of *The Royal Shepherd* included replacing many of the original arias with ones that were originally Italian. The adaptation had failed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, after two performances in 1769, and was a forgotten relic by 1782.[11] The performance of *Amintas* was followed up by "Mr. Handel's Celebrated CORONATION ANTHEM," according to the *Bath Journal* of December 30, 1782.

The 1782–83 season of concerts proved to be anomalous during the decade for the type of repertoire presented. While providing Tenducci with a showcase for his talents, Rauzzini had also addressed a complaint that had been raised against him in the previous season about the number of times that he sang. One other innovation introduced by Rauzzini was the performance of Handel's *Messiah* in the Upper Rooms on Christmas Eve, 1782. Stephen Storace played the organ on that occasion, providing an additional attraction to the already stellar line-up of vocal soloists. The choice of repertoire and date of performance was successful, and Rauzzini maintained the practice well into the next century, most often presenting the oratorio as his own benefit concert.

The concert series of 1783–84 consisted of eight concerts given between November 5 and December 24, 1783, with the benefit concerts following in January. The final subscription concert was of *Messiah*, although it was given as a part of the main series in this season, and not as Rauzzini's benefit evening. The Pieltain family had a significant presence in the 1783–84 series of concerts, with Dieudonné Pascal Pieltain taking the role of principal violinist and his brother, Jacques-Joseph-Toussaint Pieltain, listed as a horn soloist.[12] In the absence of Tenducci Rauzzini continued to perform, although he increasingly featured his young student Ann Cantelo in his programs. Cantelo, a native of Bath, had been apprenticed to J. C. Bach and Cecilia Grassi, his wife. She had not yet finished her studies when Bach died in 1782. Then aged sixteen, Cantelo returned to Bath to study with Rauzzini. She had been featured in Bach's *Rinaldo ed Armida* in the previous season and sang frequently in Bath during the 1780s.

Vocal music, although not operatic music, was featured in the Bath concerts this season, with Haydn's *Stabat Mater* performed at Jane Guest's benefit concert on January 7, 1784. Unfortunately, Rauzzini's financial problems continued, and he took the unpopular step of banning people from the rehearsals

of his concerts. It was reported in the *Bath Chronicle* on December 4, 1783, that this move upset members of the audience who felt they had the right to attend such rehearsals and then decide whether or not to attend the concert itself. From the financial perspective, the decision would have affected only those who were buying individual tickets. At the same time, performing an evening concert to a thin audience had a negative effect on the performers and created a bad impression in the city. Unfortunately, the blanket restriction on attending rehearsals was taken as an affront by some ticket holders.

Outside of Bath, Rauzzini continued to perform in the regional music festivals. His name also appears occasionally in high-profile London concerts. On July 30, 1784, he performed along with Dr. Arnold and other musical luminaries at the Annual Feast of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chapels Royal, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand in London. Not only did Rauzzini sing but he also played the fortepiano, and the review of his performance points out the difference in his rather more rarefied performing style with that of British performers. This report adds confirmation to the various statements made by Charles Burney about the singer's keyboard abilities. The *Whitehall Evening Post* reported on July 31–August 3, 1784, that, "Signor Rauzzini greatly added to the entertainment and festivity of the day, by his most admirable singing, and performance on the grand piano-forte; whose soft and delicate manner, contrasted to the bold and nervous stile of the English composers, gave such a colour and variety to the performances, as perhaps cannot be equalled on any other occasion!"

The Bath Concerts of 1784–86

At the conclusion of his London obligations with *La regina di Golconda* and various concerts, Rauzzini returned to Bath to prepare the 1784–85 concerts. A series of eight subscription concerts was announced for Wednesday evenings at 6:30 p.m., beginning on November 10, 1784, and ending on January 5, 1785. The list of featured instrumental performers was to include Pieltain (violin), Tebaldo Monzani (flute), Alexander Herschel (cello), and J. C. Fischer (oboe). While Herschel and Fischer were known to Bath audiences, Monzani does not appear to have even made his London debut at this time. Ann Cantelo, Marie Chanu, and Rauzzini were listed as principal vocalists. Rauzzini charged one guinea for all eight concerts but also allowed admittance to individual concerts at five shillings, almost double what each concert cost in the full subscription. At the mid-point in the series, it became possible to purchase a subscription for the remaining concerts at half price. One of the advantages of being a subscriber was the ability to attend rehearsals. This appears to have been a concession made to audience members who had complained when Rauzzini decided to close rehearsals to the public in the previous season. Other concessions

included the transfer of tickets from ladies to ladies, and gentlemen to gentlemen. A recurring problem was people losing their tickets, but still showing up at the concerts. The advertisement for the sixth concert in the *Bath Chronicle* on December 16, 1784, contained the following rejoinder: "Many of the Concert Tickets having been lost, Mr. Rauzzini most respectfully begs leave to inform the Subscribers and Non-Subscribers, that none will be admitted in future but those signed with his name."

There are some clues that the subscribers were not completely happy with the series as planned. It seems rather odd that Jane Guest was not included in the list of soloists at the time of the initial advertisements but was added at the second and subsequent concerts, "by Desire of many of the Subscribers," as noted in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 18, 1784. Rauzzini's choice of music for the concerts may have been criticized since the advertisements for the fifth concert promised that the "Concerts in future will consist of both *Ancient* and *Modern Musick*." This approach to programming may have been a concession to those who were partisans of concert series in London such as the Concert of Ancient Music, begun in 1776. Those concerts presented only music that was at least twenty years old and ultimately became the driving force for the Handel festivals of the 1780s and 1790s. If Rauzzini was influenced by these concerts, he was quite wise to capitalize upon the considerable support for Handel's music.

Once again, Rauzzini's benefit evening was scheduled for December 24 at the New Assembly (Upper) Rooms. Handel's *Messiah* was again promised, with the performers from the subscription series augmented by singers from Salisbury. This concert began at 6:00 p.m. and cost five shillings. The advertisements again boasted of the presence of Stephen Storace at the organ. Storace must have left for Vienna immediately after the performance of *Messiah*, as he is recorded as arriving there at the end of the month to begin preparations for the premiere of his opera *Gli sposi malcontenti*. A rarity took place on February 11, 1785, when Rauzzini sang in a performance of *Echo and Narcissus*, a pastoral English opera by Benjamin Milgrove (1731–1810). For many years, Milgrove was the precentor of the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel and, for a time, a member of the Pump Room band. While this likely pleased those who complained about Rauzzini not singing frequently in Bath, his appearance may have been calculated to enhance his appearance as being a part of the Bath community.

As the fall concert series drew to a close, Rauzzini was encouraged to propose a subscription of a further five concerts that would concentrate on vocal and choral music. The notice in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* on March 3, 1785, offered the possibility of performing Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, Leo's *Miserere* (in Rauzzini's arrangement), and selections from oratorios and operas by Handel, Purcell, Vinci, Jomelli, Perez, Hasse, and Gluck. To balance the programs, Rauzzini also promised concertos by Geminiani, Martini,

Corelli, Scarlatti, and others. It should be noted that most of these composers would fit into the category of "Ancient Music," thus shifting the balance of repertoire away from modern Viennese classicism. The proposal must not have met with sufficient support to go ahead. Instead, Rauzzini raised a subscription for three concerts, each with Acts of Ancient and Modern music. Handel's music, unlike the other composers originally suggested, figured prominently in the programs.

An unfortunate editorial found its way into London newspapers, including the *Public Advertiser* on January 8, 1785, and the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on January 10, 1785: "Rauzzini is to live through the winter on the clouted [*sic*] cream and other good fare of the Bath market—With Miss Guest, &c. &c.—the market of Bath beats the world . . . which shews the Bath waters are not sovereign in ear infirmities—And so—Rauzzini for their money." Later, the author pays him faint compliments as a composer, while making unflattering comparisons about his singing abilities: "Let the supportable claim of Rauzzini be acknowledged as a composer. He has some invention, more feeling. He is a singer too—but compared with Pacchierrotti, it is Major H–d–y to Henderson." This diatribe appears to be a continuation of the attacks made against Rauzzini at the time of *La regina di Golconda* in 1784, yet seems not to have any particular motivation other than jealousy on the part of the author over Rauzzini's success as a foreigner in Bath. That Rauzzini was now considered to be a fixture in Bath seems not to be in doubt. His compositions were also highly favored there and his music was sometimes heard outside of the subscription concerts, especially at the Theatre Royal. As Kenneth James points out, cantatas such as *The Genius of Britain* and *Old Oliver: or the Dying Shepherd* had their premieres in this theater in 1786 and 1796, respectively, thus indicating his involvement in the musical community of Bath.[13]

While it would appear that the concerts in the 1785–86 season were planned to follow the pattern that had already been established, an unexpected event resulted in alterations to the schedule. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on November 3, 1785, that the managers of the Pauper Charity planned their concert for Christmas Eve, a night that Rauzzini used for his annual benefit. This was bad form on the part of the charity but Rauzzini did not protest. Rather than split the audience between the two concerts, Rauzzini moved his benefit to December 22. As noted above, J. C. Fischer's benefit night on January 4, 1786, was compromised by bad weather; the program was repeated ten days later.. The concert had promised a work that was almost completely unknown, Johann Reichardt's *Ode in Praise of Handel*, and the local media did much to advertise its novelty in the week preceding the concert. This concert proved to be Fischer's last in Bath as he undertook a long tour of Europe later that year. As a result, Rauzzini lost another high-profile soloist in his series.

The interest in choral music and oratorio continued to grow. Rauzzini capitalized upon it with performances in February, 1786, of Handel's

Alexander's Feast and *Acis and Galatea*, as well as Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. Likely as a result, he offered only one concert during Passion Week that year, a mixed concert of sacred music rather than a full oratorio. Other groups were performing oratorios at this time: Kenneth James notes that *Messiah* had been announced as a benefit concert for the choir of St. James's Church on May 26.[14]

The Bath Concerts of 1786–89

Rauzzini began to publish more detailed concert notices in this period, making it easier to reconstruct the repertoire performed in these concerts than in previous seasons. The listings are not absolutely complete—the names of composers, compositions, and, especially individual song titles are not always given. What remains, however, is informative (see appendix A). The act containing the so-called "ancient music" was largely by Handel and included overtures, arias, and choruses selected from the various oratorios, rather than the performance of full works. The exceptions were shorter pieces such as the Coronation Anthems or *concerti grossi*. Later in the decade, music by Corelli, Geminiani, and Martini was added to the acts of "ancient music." The occasional opera aria in Italian was presented, but the majority of the solo arias came from oratorios or serenatas set to English texts. This was in direct contrast to the act containing "modern music," where much of the vocal music was in Italian. The presentation of music from Handel's oratorios required the presence of a choir at each concert. Rauzzini took great pains in training the Bath choristers and they appear to have achieved a high level of execution. A breakdown of the music performed in the acts of "modern music" between November 15, 1786, and December 29, 1790, follows, the number of performances shown in parentheses. Only one symphony can be identified exactly, Haydn's Symphony no. 73 ("La Chasse").

Overture/Symphony: Haydn, Symphony no. 73 (4); other Haydn (16); J. C. Bach (7); Rauzzini (5); Pleyel (4); Stamitz (1); Paisiello (1); Mozart (1).
Piano concertos: unnamed (9); Kozeluck (7); Mozart (4); Vogler (4); Vanhal (3); Haydn (2); Kloffer (1); Schroeter (1).
Violin concertos: unnamed violin concertos (21), Joseph Boulogne, Chevalier de Saint-Georges (1).
Cello concertos: unnamed (3).
Flute concertos: unnamed (9).
Oboe concertos: J. C. Fischer (4).
Clarinet concerto, unnamed (1).
Bassoon concerto: unnamed (1).

Non-orchestral Instrumental Music

Quartet: Pleyel (2); Stamitz: Quintet (2); Piano Duet: Clementi (1); Oboe Quintet: J. C. Bach (1); Quartet: J. C. Bach (1); Hummel: Horn Quintet (1); Haydn: Quartet (1); unnamed duet for strings (1).

Vocal Concert Music

Rauzzini (15); Sarti (14); Sacchini (8); Jackson (5); Martini (4); Guglielmi (3); Cimarosa (3); Relfe (3); Hook (2); Paxton (2); Anfossi (2); Salieri (2), Paisiello (2); Bianchi (2); J. C. Bach (2), Stevens (3); Schuster (2); Prati (1); Mortellari (1); Tarchi (1); Gazzaniga (1) Bertoni (1); Stamitz (1); Rusti (1); Danby (1); Davy (1); Webbe (1); Giordani (1); Porotti (1); Corse (1).

The list reveals just how little contemporary British music was performed in the concerts. No symphonies by a British-born composer were played, though it is possible that James Brooks played his own violin concertos. Otherwise, the emphasis was upon Continental orchestral music and the composers from the Austro-Hungarian axis, in particular. That Rauzzini would program Haydn's music does not surprise, as it was already well known in London and regularly performed there. Rauzzini may have become acquainted with Mozart's music and other contemporary Viennese composers through Stephen and Nancy Storace, both of whom had significant careers in Vienna. It is evident that Rauzzini used the concert series to establish his own vocal compositions; his works were performed more often than those of any other contemporary composer. Otherwise, the vocal music of Italian composers predominated. The number of times that the piano concertos of Leopold Koželuh (1747–1818) were played may surprise. His name was usually anglicized to Kozeluch or Kozeluck, but he was Bohemian-born, and based in Vienna. Kozeluck composed at least twenty-two concertos for piano which enjoyed considerable popularity in their day. J. C. Fischer might no longer have been performing in Bath, but his oboe concertos continued to be heard in the capable hands of Josiah Ashley.

The presence of the young Johann Cramer (1771–1858) on the programs of the 1786–87 concerts likely caused something of a stir with the Bath audiences. Only fifteen years of age when he arrived in Bath, he had studied with Clementi in London and was already an accomplished keyboard performer there. He was also a member of a well-known family of musicians: his father, Wilhelm, was a popular violinist and conductor. During the family's time in Bath, the leadership of the orchestra was divided between Pieltain and the elder Cramer, with the latter taking over in the second act (according to the *Bath Chronicle* on January 3, 1787). All of the vocal soloists in this season would have been well known to the Bath audiences, as was Pieltain on violin. Charles Incledon had been singing in theatrical productions in Bath and Bristol since

1785 while studying with Rauzzini. It was not until 1790, however, that Incledon established himself at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. Ann Cantelo's period of apprenticeship to Rauzzini was soon coming to an end, and her singing had attracted increasing attention. The *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* prophesied on January 5, 1787, that "she will soon grace a London orchestra as a first singer," the critic noting that her only defect was a "feeble articulation."

The detailed listings of the repertoire performed at benefit concerts allow comparison with Rauzzini's main series. Mrs. Pieltain (the former Miss Chanu) never achieved particular prominence, although her performances in the Bath concerts usually pleased.[15] She was given a benefit concert on January 6, 1787, that began at noon. The advertisements promised that the program would include two symphonies by Haydn, a piano concerto by Johann Samuel Schroeter (played by the young Cramer), a symphony by J. C. Bach, a concert work for violin by her husband, and a variety of songs and concert vocal music by Sacchini, Anfossi, Rauzzini, and others. On the surface, this concert would seem to equal Rauzzini's subscription concerts in the amount and seriousness of the music to be performed. But with only Mrs. Pieltain and Ann Cantelo listed as the vocal soloists, some of the vocal glamour of Rauzzini's series was missing. It is significant that Rauzzini did not take part in the concert himself, something that he did for the young Cramer on the evening of January 10. Cramer's benefit concert also boasted the vocal talents of Charles Incledon, Miss Poole, Anne Cantello, and Mrs. Pieltain, and was obviously viewed as a significant event since Pieltain, Ashley, and Cramer all played concertante works in the first act: in addition to a Haydn symphony, the program included an oboe concerto by Fischer, a piano concerto by J. C. Bach, and a violin concerto by Pieltain. Song also figured in this act—which must have been very long—with music by Rauzzini, Anfossi, and Sarti. This second act was hardly any shorter. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on January 4, 1787, that it would consist of excerpts from Handel's oratorios and operas, including *Samson*, *Judas Maccabeus*, and *Sosarme*, as well as anthems, a violin concerto by Cramer, and "The 11th Grand Concerto [Grosso]" by Handel.

Rauzzini is also mentioned in the advertisements for the concert of the New Musical Society on January 12, 1787. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* reported on January 16 that out of respect for the ladies who had been invited to the concert, the society moved its meeting from the White Lyon Tavern to the Town Hall, "in order to accommodate them in the best manner." The concert consisted of vocal and instrumental music and featured Incledon, Ann Cantelo, and Rauzzini as vocal soloists. The individual works are not named in the newspaper announcements, but Rauzzini was advertised as a composer of a new ode "written expressly for the occasion" in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* on January 4, 1787. The event even caught the attention of the London newspapers: the *Morning Chronicle* reported on January 16 that the "concert was a triumph of harmony." Given that the final

three of Rauzzini's own subscription concerts were presented between January 3 and 24, the month must have been extremely busy for him.

Rauzzini did not attempt a second series of concerts until Passion Week, likely because of the number of concerts that were given throughout January 1787. Two sacred concerts with orchestra and chorus were then announced for April 2 and April 7 in the New Assembly Rooms. The cost of the subscription, half a guinea, was rather steep, especially since his regular series of eight concerts cost only twice that much, but subscribers got two tickets for the first concert, albeit only one for the second. Handel's music figured prominently in the concerts, with the second promising the Funeral Anthem that had been previously performed at Westminster Abbey. Associating the latter work with the cachet of London performances may well have been an advertising ploy to attract audiences at a time when many of the visitors to Bath had returned to London or their estates and Bath was less socially prominent. The two concerts appear to have been a considerable success, and even attracted the attention of London newspapers. The *Morning Herald* reported on April 10, 1787:

> Rauzzini, who has been no less prosperous than meritorious, gave us last week two most excellent Concerts, suited to the solemnity of the season, both selected from the works of the immortal Handel; the first (on Tuesday) from Judas Maccabeus, in which the principal performers seemed to vie with each other for pre-eminence . . . the second (on Saturday) from Samson and the Messiah, with the Funeral Anthem and the Dead March in Saul.—Of the Anthem, it may with great truth be said, that it never was any where better performed. All the choruses were well and judiciously given. The Songs, which most attracted, were Miss Cantelo's "I know that my Redeemer Liveth," Mr. Incledon's "Total Eclipse and Comfort ye" [*sic*], each of which were in a stile that would have honoured the first singers in the kingdom; the applause was great and flattering, and near four hundred people each night [*sic*].

Within a week of the second concert Rauzzini was in London, taking part in a charity concert for "Decayed Musicians, their Wives and Orphans" on April 12 at the King's Theatre. Billed as a "Grand Miscellaneous Concert," the array of vocal soloists and instrumentalists was truly impressive. This concert, undertaken while he was supervising the forthcoming premiere of *La vestale*, gave Rauzzini the opportunity to remind London audiences that the negative comments made at the time of *La regina di Golconda* had not stopped him from performing.

Rauzzini began to expand his activities as a concert director later that same year. On September 19 and 20, he took part in the direction of the concerts at the Wells Music Meeting (Festival), sharing duties with Dodd Perkins, the organist at Wells Cathedral from 1781–1820, and Philip Hayes, the British composer, organist, singer, and conductor. Given how close Wells is to Bath, it would have made sense to make use of Rauzzini's expertise as well as some

of the musicians who were resident in Bath. Perkins and Rauzzini were singled out by *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* on September 29, 1787, as having received "the warmest applauses [*sic*] of the company, for the judicious manner in which the whole was conducted." Surprisingly, it does not appear that Rauzzini sang during the festival.

Rauzzini provided a new attraction for his benefit evening on Christmas Eve of 1787. Instead of *Messiah*, he presented *Redemption*, a Handel pastiche stitched together by Samuel Arnold in 1786 to a text created by W. Coxe. Rather like the pastiche oratorios based on Handel's music devised by J. C. Smith, *Redemption* never caught on. Rauzzini must have been disappointed by the poor turnout for the concert. The *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* cited bad weather as the cause on December 27, 1878, but one wonders if the Bath residents might have ventured forth had it been for a performance of their beloved *Messiah*.

Two more sets of subscription concerts followed the end of the winter series. The first set of three concerts was announced for January 30 and February 6 and 15, 1788. The first of these concerts contained all sacred music, being it was presented on the commemoration of King Charles's martyrdom. The second, presented on Ash Wednesday, promised to be a "Concerto Spirituale" of vocal and instrument music, while the final concert was advertised as a concert of miscellaneous modern music. During Passion Week, Rauzzini presented two more concerts (March 18 and 22), with Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum* being performed at the first, and *Messiah* at the second. One new name figures in the newspaper advertisements at this time, that of the celebrated trumpet player James Serj[e]ant. Rauzzini offered a repeat performance of *Messiah* a month later at St. Michael's church with the same musicians. The latter concert was in aid of paying off the costs of the church's new organ.[16] Once again, Rauzzini took part in the Wells Musical Festival, this time as the sole director in 1788. The published advertisements for the concerts that he prepared (August 19, 20, and 21) bear an uncanny resemblance to the three concerts that he had given in Bath from January 30. The similarities do not appear to have negatively influenced the reception given to either to Rauzzini or to his female vocalists, Madame Mara and Ann Cantelo. The *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* reported on August 28, 1788, that "the judgement of Mr. Rauzzini in the conduct of the whole was conspicuous in an eminent degree." The reviewer also signaled out the contributions of James Brooks as the first violin, and noted that over one thousand people attended the performance of *Messiah*.

Bath was very quiet for the 1788–89 season. It was said by the *General Evening Post* on December 6–9, 1788, to be "almost destitute of company. They have not seen so gloomy a November for many years." Rauzzini advertised a series of eight concerts in the *Bath Chronicle* on October 16, 1788. While based on the ancient-modern concept, it promised some novelty: "in each Concert will be introduced some of the favourite Choruses of HANDEL." Incledon and

Cantelo as vocal soloists were familiar names, but others would have been much anticipated. Boy sopranos provided much interest even if their "shelf life" was always limited. Master Taylor appeared in a number of the concerts this season, including Rauzzini's Christmas Eve benefit concert of *Messiah*. The tenor Samuel Harrison was a quite a different matter, however, as he had a well-established reputation from his appearances at the Bach-Abel concerts, and the Concert of Ancient Music in London. His was not a strong voice, but his scale was equal and his tone pure. He used these attributes with the greatest of taste and so must have contrasted greatly with Incledon. The latter was likely a more powerful and theatrical singer, but he was decidedly put into the shadows with the engagement of Harrison for this season.[17] Of the instrumental soloists, the names of Brooks, Ashley, Herschell, Wasbrough, and Guest all looked very familiar. Only the presence of the flautist, Florio, from London was a novelty, though whether this was Pietro Grassi Florio (1740–95) or his son Charles H. Florio (ca. 1768–1819) is not made clear by the newspaper advertisements. The elder Florio was the first flute at the King's Theatre in London and appeared frequently at the Bach-Abel concerts. He was one of the first flute players to use an eight-keyed flute. The younger Florio was also a tenor singer in addition to being a flute player.

The degree to which the Bath orchestra had become proficient under Rauzzini's training is revealed in the number of overtures and symphonies played in this series. The program for the third concert (November 19) included a symphony for double orchestra by J. C. Bach, and unidentified flute and piano concertos played respectively by Florio and Guest. The music by J. C. Bach was likely one of his op. 18 symphonies (*Grand Overtures*, ca. 1782) of which numbers 1, 3, and 5 were composed for double orchestra. Ann Cantelo's singing continued to be highly appreciated: indeed, a report from Bath printed in the *Star* on January 30, 1789, lamented the absence of Spring concerts that would have allowed Bath audiences to continue hearing "her charming powers." Cantelo's benefit concert was not given until April 15, hardly the most propitious time in the Bath calendar, although her concert featured a celebrated French violinist in the person of Madame Gautherot, whose performance was particularly brilliant.[18] By contrast, Harrison's benefit concert on December 3 could have easily been confused for one of Rauzzini's subscription series, beginning with a Haydn symphony and featuring instrumental concertos performed by Florio, Brooks, and Guest. The second act contained selections from various works by Handel. The vocal soloists in the concert included Harrison, Incledon, Master Taylor, and Cantello, with Incledon being restricted to a single aria from *Samson*. The concert appears to have been a great success, and was reviewed in the *General Evening Post* on December 6–9, 1788. Not only was Harrison praised in the review, but it was stated that "Rauzzini has adapted himself to the taste of the day. Handel supplies one act of his Concerts, and he has collected a Chorus, which through his industry in instructing the voices is

not disreputable." This review also provides insights into what appears to have been a rather dull season in Bath: "Never was there a season so unproductive to Bath as the present. It is quite deserted, and the melancholy indications of empty lodgings hang out at every door."[19] The comments about Rauzzini's chorus are not generous, and the tone of the review reveals resentment toward Rauzzini that may betray a bias against foreigners. Comments such as "Rauzzini has adapted himself to the taste of the day" may indicate that the "foreigner" had been made to bend to British tastes.

Rauzzini composed two large-scale vocal works for performance in this season. The first, *The Pauper, a new Ode* (discussed in the previous chapter), was composed for the Pauper Charity in Bath and performed on January 21 at their annual concert. This ode proved to be popular and was performed for several years thereafter. Rauzzini also composed a "loyal cantata," *The Genius of Britain*, celebrating the king's temporary recovery from madness. Once again, the poetry was by the Bath bookseller William Meyler. The cantata was first performed by Charles Incledon at the end of the second act of *Love in a Village* on March 3, 1789. The advertisement for the performance in the *Bath Chronicle* on February 26, 1789, refers to a prominent trumpet part that was to be played by William Mahon. Incledon repeated the cantata at one of Rauzzini's Passion Week concerts. The *Bath Chronicle* published two reports on March 5, 1789, after the work's premiere: "In truth, we were at a loss which to admire most, the poetry, the musick, or the *manner* in which it was sung; for each seemed to have an equal claim to excellence: RAUZZINI's music was delightful and affecting: the accompaniments were peculiarly grand. It was written, composed, and sung, as though the subject was felt." Given the positive reception both these works received, it is unfortunate that the music for neither ode appears to have survived.

Following the conclusion of his concerts in Bath, Rauzzini turned his attention to projects elsewhere. These included supervising his incidental music for the revival of Frederick Reynolds's play *Werter*, given at the Theatre Royal, Bristol, on July 27, 1789, and taking charge of the annual Somerset Music Meeting held at Wells Cathedral on August 5, 6, and 7, 1789. Rauzzini once again had the sole direction of the concerts, which repeated many of the works given earlier in Bath. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* reported on July 25, 1789, that on August 5 there would be a "Grand CONCERTO SPIRITUALE" given in the cathedral featuring music by Handel. In subsequent concerts Rauzzini presented *Messiah*, the *Dettigen Te Deum*, and "Funeral Anthem," concluding with the "Dead March" from *Saul*. One new name crops up in the list of vocal soloists, but one who was well known to Rauzzini: Nancy Storace. She had returned to London in the spring of 1787 as a fully formed concert and operatic singer. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported on August 11, 1789, that she "was never more successful than on this occasion." Unfortunately, a dispute with the managers of the festival resulted in Rauzzini withdrawing from future festivals there.[20]

The series that ended the decade began with controversy over the increase in the Gentlemen's subscription (discussed above). Once that issue was resolved, Rauzzini's concerts continued much as in previous years. Five principal singers were engaged, with a sixth, Miss Mahon, appearing only in the first two concerts. Ann Cantelo continued to enchant the Bath audiences; Incledon and Harrison shared tenor duties, and James Mahon was the bass. The boy soprano Master Taylor also returned to Bath, though he would soon disappear from the concert scene, likely as nature intended. Harrison's appearances in Bath still attracted attention in London, where it was recorded in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on November 30, 1789, that "the musical regions [were] animated with new spirit, and will be gifted with more attraction." The reviewer suggested that the presence of Harrison "considerably augmented the influence of Rauzzini's Concert on Wednesday last." Harrison's benefit concert on December 9 attracted such a crowd that many could not obtain admission. A letter of apology from Harrison to those who were not admitted and to those "Ladies and Gentlemen [who] suffered much inconvenience from the fullness and heat of the room" was published in the *Bath Journal* on December 14, 1789. Rumors of an even more famous vocalist, the celebrated soprano Mrs. Elizabeth Billington (1765–1818), appearing in Bath began to circulate. She appears to have played a keyboard concerto in Bath in 1780 but subsequently emerged as a singer with a high coloratura voice.[21] In spite of the speculation rampant in Bath, the season of concerts came and went without any sign of her.

Compensation may have been found in the arrival of the phenomenally gifted young violinist, George Bridg[e]tower (1778/80–1860). He had not been initially a part of Rauzzini's season, but his appearance on December 5, 1789, delighted the audience. Possibly as young as nine years old at the time, it was Bridgtower's ethnicity that likely struck audiences first. His father was a West Indian in the service of Prince Nicholas of Esterházy, while his mother was German. The father capitalized upon his son's mulatto status by claiming that he had originally been an African prince. This ingenious bit of publicity was eagerly picked up by the media of the day, although the young George's talents were more than sufficient to warrant critical acclaim. A benefit concert was arranged for him on December 5, a Saturday morning, and its success was reported in the London newspapers. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on December 8, 1789, states that there were "upwards of five hundred and fifty persons present, and they were gratified by such skill on the violin, as created general astonishment, as well as pleasure. Rauzzini was enraptured, and declared he had never heard such execution before, even from his friend La Motte, who was, he thought, much inferior to this wonderful boy."

The reviews may exaggerate details; however, there can be little doubt that the young Bridgtower made a strong impression on the audience. Rauzzini subsequently included Bridgtower in the fifth concert in his series (December

16) and even asked him to perform at his benefit concert of Handel's *Messiah* on Christmas Eve. The *Bath Chronicle* initially reported on December 17, 1789, that Bridgtower would play a concerto between the first and second parts of the oratorio, and that Mr. Harrington would play an oboe concerto between the second and third parts. The advertisement in the same newspaper on the day of the concert shows that the order of their appearances had been reversed, with Bridgtower playing last. Rauzzini appears to have kept his audience in anticipation of Bridgtower's appearance.

Rauzzini likely wanted to see how the young violinist would handle playing in a concert before he engaged him in his own subscription concerts. To achieve this, Rauzzini agreed to take part in a private concert organized by James Mathews, accompanying Bridgtower on the keyboard, according to the *World* on December 1. Also taking part in the concert was Harrison who "sung in full voice." Several of the performers were amateurs, including Major Goodenough, the Hon. D. Anstruther, and Miss Northcote. The presence of Bridgtower and Rauzzini likely accounted for the rather elite audience at Mathews's concert, which included Lord John Townshend, Sir George Colebrook and family, General Burgoyne, and the Piozzi household. Rauzzini did not program any further concerts until Passion Week when, like the previous year, he organized two concerts. The first was a miscellaneous concert of old and new music, presented on the Tuesday of Passion Week, while the Saturday concert drew from Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* and *Messiah* for its repertoire. At the latter concert Nancy Storace made a much anticipated Bath debut, as did the celebrated Italian-Russian violinist Giovanni Mane Giornovichi (1747–1804).[22] Both soloists were very well received and were given benefit concerts.

Although Rauzzini's final season in this decade had begun with controversy, it quickly settled into praise for him. The *Bath Chronicle* stated on December 10, 1789, that "the exertions of Mr. Rauzzini to bring forward merit in every department is [*sic*] entitled to the highest praise." For the time being, at least, the financial problems appeared to have been resolved, and the concerts were on a secure footing for the final decade of the century. What might not have been evident was the fact that Bath was beginning a long and slow social decline in a world that changed radically as France and Britain began their most painful war of the century.

The Bath Concerts of 1790–99

Social Milieu

The storming of the Bastille prison in Paris on July 14, 1789, and the subsequent French Revolution sent shock waves across Europe. That a grassroots rebellion was successful in destroying one of the traditional symbols of French

absolutism could hardly be believed. The event was seemingly without precedent and thus incomprehensible to many. In Britain, it served initially to give strength to growing opposition to King George III and his Prime Minister, William Pitt. With the passing of time, some dared to wonder if similar governmental reform could be achieved in the less oppressive political climate of Britain. These issues were raised in publications such as Richard Price's *Discourse on the Love of our Country* (1789), Edmund Burke's denunciation of the French uprising in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), and Thomas Paine's revolutionary *Rights of Man* (1791–92). Their opposing ideas were much debated both in public and private. While Pitt's government initially welcomed the changes introduced in France as it expected that a constitutional monarchy similar to that in Britain would result, this support quickly gave way to caution and then outright dismay as the French Revolution pursued a bloody path toward the declaration of a republic in September 1792. William Pitt had much to fear both from the dangers abroad and from the rise of dissent on British soil from radical societies which attracted large memberships across the country. The London Corresponding Society, founded in 1792, gave the previously disorganized working class a powerful voice.[23] On November 19, 1792, the French Republic began an aggressive campaign to export the politics of revolution and offered to assist any country that wanted to overthrow its monarchy. Rioting on a level experienced in France was feared in London. John Marsh records that the Tower of London was fortified (presumably to prevent a fate similar to that of the Bastille) and that the number of the Guards at the Bank of England was doubled.[24] Finally, France declared war against Great Britain on February 1, 1793. The two countries were to remain at war for most of the period up to 1815.

The effect of these events on Rauzzini's life in Bath was significant. British society was in turmoil. The aristocratic members of his audience (who gave Rauzzini's concerts considerable appeal) comprised the very group which was increasingly coming under attack from the Opposition movement. Although this movement was largely silenced through governmental initiatives and the expressions of patriotism that were evoked by France's declaration of war, there was still considerable unease within the aristocratic community. The effects could be felt in Bath when people chose not to travel for the season there. On April 22, 1791, the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported that Rauzzini had "rather been a loser this season by his exertions to afford the gentry superior musical repasts." Conditions improved somewhat for the following season: a letter from Bath published in the same newspaper on November 19, 1791, records that nearly four hundred attended Rauzzini's first concert of the season, "which is a very great number, so early in the season." At the same time, the need for the support of the visiting Company is underlined in the *Diary or Woodfall's Register* on November 21, 1792, when it is recorded that "Rauzzini has begun his concerts at Bath for the season. He commends them to the

sure protection of the *Beau Monde* there, by the able performers whom he has engaged." Such protection was not always forthcoming. A letter from Bath, published in the *World* on December 13, 1793, records that Rauzzini's concerts had "failed of attracting much company. The subscriptions will not yet permit him to remove to the Great Room." This may indicate that much of Rauzzini's audience was buying individual tickets as opposed to full subscriptions.

A plea in the *Bath Journal* on December 24, 1792, begged the local residents to support Rauzzini's benefit concert of *Messiah* on that evening. Bath was particularly empty at this time since Parliament remained in session and the militia was in training manoeuvres for the war with France that was believed to be inevitable. The author of the article concluded that "the present season . . . [is] rather against him." Rauzzini's financial losses with the concert series continued to grow. The 1793–94 season was so financially devastating that several ladies in Bath undertook to perform a benefit concert for him. The *Whitehall Evening Post* recorded on March 4, 1794, that the "Concert took place on Wednesday last, in the New Assembly Rooms; and the fair Syrens who exerted their talents on this occasion . . . afforded a very gratifying repast to the connoisseurs, and the profits are said to have amounted to about three hundred pounds." All of the performers at the concert were young unmarried women of good families. They had originally wanted to make the concert a surprise for him, but this proved impossible since they needed a director. Rauzzini was eventually convinced to undertake this responsibility. The concert was a success and Rauzzini emerged with his debts covered.[25] This was gratifying, but the financial security of the concert series could not be maintained in this fashion.

The entire decade of the 1790s was trying for Rauzzini, what with the outbreak of the war with France, competition from other concerts, misunderstandings with other organizations in the city, and the continuing financial losses that he incurred. As early as 1790, Rauzzini was taking proactive steps to counter his losses. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on November 25, 1790, that he would no longer allow subscribers to lend their tickets to friends for the rehearsals. During the 1784–85 season Rauzzini had been forced to reverse an earlier decision and once again allow subscribers to attend rehearsals. Some of the subscribers, however, abused this practice by giving their tickets to those who attended the rehearsal without any intention of buying a ticket for the actual concert. Rauzzini claimed that the practice had become "extremely injurious" to him; this likely reflects his uncomfortable financial situation. Just how serious Rauzzini's financial situation may have been is revealed in the list of solo singers for the 1790–91 concerts. While Maria Poole was a known quantity, and much liked in Bath, the other singers, Miss Goepel [Gopell] and Mr. Hutley [Huttley], were very junior. Hutley appears to have been a flautist and oboist and possibly an actor before taking up singing. He made his singing debut in Bristol on October 6, 1790, and was still very inexperienced as a singer when he

first appeared in Bath. Until his premature death in 1796, Huttley took small parts in theatrical productions and sang in concerts while still performing as a wind player. Miss Gopell appears to have been a Bath native who studied with Mrs. Miles. Given two such junior singers in the series, Rauzzini was fortunate to entice Madame Mara back "for a few nights," to give the series some vocal glamour. Mara also returned to Bath for Rauzzini's performance of *Messiah* in the Bath Abbey in April 1791. On that occasion she was joined by Incledon and Sarah Second, artists guaranteed to please the local audience. Mara's performances of *Messiah* were always much anticipated.[26] Much was made in the local press of Rauzzini's decision to insert the "Dead March" from *Saul* before "I know that my Redeemer liveth." The *Bath Chronicle* reported on April 14, 1791, that the march was going to be accompanied "on the Double Drums by Mr. Axbridge, who invented this grand instrument for the commemoration of *Handel*." The chorus singing was much praised in this source, which revealed that many of the singers in the chorus were either current or former students of Rauzzini. On the face of it, Rauzzini's Easter concerts appear to have been more prestigious than the winter subscription series.

The events of the French Revolution had one surprising consequence for the Bath concerts in the 1791–92 season when Rauzzini hired an aristocratic French émigrée by the name of Madame de Sisley as a featured soloist. She was a part of the first wave of French noble émigrés who, realizing that the dangers were too great for them to stay in France, came to Britain. Kirsty Carpenter has observed that London was the obvious choice for many émigrés. As the largest city in Europe, it offered many amenities. Furthermore, it was close to France, and many of the French aristocrats had visited London before, with some having friends and relatives living there.[27] The expatriate French who moved to London often faced considerable hardships, but they were usually treated kindly by the British.[28]

Madame de Sisley's success in London rose far above the experiences of many of her peers. While many of the aristocratic French émigrés struggled to find some means of supporting themselves, Mme de Sisley actually had talents that allowed her to enter the ranks of professional musicians. Reports of her talents and reduced circumstances were announced in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on June 2, 1791. After outlining the lady's background, accomplishments and the disreputable nature of her husband, the reviewer stated that "*this* Lady is now arrived in England, to try if her situation can be in some degree improved by the exercise of her musical talents. In this endeavour, there is as much reason to expect as to wish for her success, the instruction of Piozzi, Piccini, and Sacchini, having been afforded her, at a time when her voice was cultivated for the amusement of herself and her friends." Receiving training from the hands of the finest masters was not unusual for French women of society. One need look no further than Mme de Pompadour of an earlier generation to find someone whose singing

talents were said to be of professional quality, although used only for the pleasure of Louis XV and his friends.

Mme de Sisley had come from a prominent family. Her father had been the *Intendant* of Paris, and her husband an equerry to one of the brothers of Louis XVI. After arriving in London, Mme de Sisley prepared herself for public performances by continuing her vocal training with "Signors David and Mazzanti," according to the *Public Advertiser* on November 15, 1791. She made her London debut on June 3, 1791, at a concert arranged at Hanover Square by Saloman.[29] This was one of the concerts at which Haydn's music was performed and the composer participated. Her reviews were positive; the *Public Advertiser* commented on June 4, 1791, that her voice was of "great compass and flexibility." Furthermore, she had taste and a secure knowledge of music. This notice appears to be the first to report the audience giving the singer the nickname of the "Aristocratic Syren." The *Diary or Woodfall's Register* of June 6, 1791, noted that her style of singing was more French than Italian, and that her "manners were very expressive of her former rank, but wholly exempt from any appearance of unbecoming pride or mortified dejection." She was immediately taken up by London society, and it is likely as a result of this influence that Rauzzini added Mme de Sisley to his roster of singers for the 1791–92 season.

When she appeared in the first concert of the season in Bath, the *Public Adervertiser* recorded on November 24, 1791, that "she was received with that applause to which her vocal and musical powers, so fully entitled her. The audience . . . treated her with that kindness and indulgence which her peculiar situation demanded." What might have been a one-off appearance became a full season of concerts. The same paper recorded on December 14 that she continued to please audiences with each appearance: "Her musical talents, her elegant figure, her polished and correct manners, united to her very melancholy and affecting history, appear to have insured her a very general and a very generous interest in that city." During her benefit concert on January 4, 1792, Mme de Sisley performed a piano sonata of her own composition, thereby consolidating her credentials as a thoroughly trained musician. The *Bath Journal* of January 9, 1792, stated that audience did not know what to admire most, "her science in composing, or her art in rendering the most exquisite musical sounds."[30] The *Public Advertiser* recorded on January 13 that the benefit concert netted the performer nearly two hundred pounds, in part the result of direct gifts from prominent members of the audience. This left the newspaper to indulge in a spot of patriotic self-indulgence: "What a pleasure to live in a country like England, where merit of every sort and of every choice is not only tasted and felt, but meets with a protection and remuneration no other country can afford to give it!" There were many British-born musicians who might have found their own experiences to have been less fortunate.

It is difficult to assess the degree to which Mme de Sisley's reception was influenced by her unfortunate situation or her personal charm and talent.

Certainly, her situation had attracted enormous attention. Numerous poetic expressions of sympathy appeared in the London newspapers, with the *Public Advertiser* referring to her on January 3, 1792, as a "Nymph of Nature's loveliest mould." That Rauzzini continued to feature her in the remainder of the season, however, likely speaks more to her musical abilities than her personal situation. Unfortunately, it appears to have resulted in the beginnings of resentment toward Rauzzini by Sarah Second (née Sarah Mahon) who had originally been listed in the concert advertisements as the principal soprano singer for that season. Mrs. Second would not sing for Rauzzini for several years thereafter.

Upon Mme de Sisley's return to London in late January 1792, she performed in concerts listed as "A New Entertainment of Music and Dancing" at the Hanover Square Rooms. The other performers were known professionals in London. She was given a benefit concert in London on March 28 of that year, in which she again sang and played a piano sonata of her own composition. The other performers in the concert were well known and Salomon acted as leader of the orchestra. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on April 12 that she had cleared 320 guineas at this concert. After this active year of performances, she appears thereafter to have largely withdrawn from public concerts. Either she had become financially secure, or had obtained support from within the London elite. That she never again performed in Bath was Rauzzini's loss. She had been the ideal performer to attract the attention of the aristocratic visitors to Bath.

Rauzzini worked hard during this period to attract the support of this very group, especially in the need to balance the novel with the solidly musical in his repertoire planning. The Bath audiences were intrigued by youthful performers. A *Wunderkind* performing at the level of adults (or close to it) was often a cause of amazement and pleasure. Boy sopranos were a particular drawcard, even if their performing careers were short-lived. During the early 1790s, Master Thomas Welsh (also spelled as Welch; ca. 1780–1848) was as much favored by the Bath audiences as he was at the Cathedral in Wells, where he began his singing career as a chorister. He possessed a voice of rare beauty and was already known to some in Rauzzini's audience who travelled to Wells on occasion for services at the cathedral. His first appearance in Bath took place during the initial concert of the 1791–92 season, when he sang "I know that my Redeemer Liveth." Although reported as being nine years of age, it is possible that he was a year or two older at the time. This concert appearance was highly successful and he sang in many of the scheduled concerts and benefits thereafter. The young singer was in such demand for both public and private concerts that the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* lamented his overuse on January 7, 1792: "Master WELCH is too often brought forward as his constant attendance at private and public concerts, will certainly impair his powers, which cannot but be regretted." Welsh survived his time in Bath and

then sang in concerts at the King's Theatre in London, returning to Bath for Rauzzini's Easter concerts and was subsequently engaged by Thomas Linley Sr. for performances at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Eventually, nature ended this part of his musical career, but during his adult life he emerged as one of Britain's finest bass singers. He was then to return to Bath as voice teacher and frequent performer. Kenneth James cites evidence that Welsh studied with Rauzzini during his time in Bath; however, these reports come from nearly ten years after his Bath appearances.[31]

The success enjoyed by young George Bridgtower in 1789 as a *Wunderkind* violinist was quickly followed up by Franz Clement (1780–1842). The young Austrian violinist had begun performing in public at the age of seven, but made great progress under the tutelage of Giovanni Giornovichi. Clement spent two years in Britain (1790–92) during which time he captivated audiences in both London and Bath. His playing balanced clarity and elegance with considerable expression, while displaying great technical skill and perfect intonation. Clement is perhaps best remembered today as having received the dedication of Beethoven's Violin Concerto. He performed in Bath during the 1790–91 season, when many there still remembered the performances of Bridgtower. Once again, the newspapers reported his age as being several years younger than was the case, with the *Bath Chronicle* claiming October 28, 1790, that he was "not yet nine years old." Even if he was already approaching eleven years of age, it was remarkable that he was already composing his own concertos, and that these were judged worthy of inclusion in the concerts. Clement played a concerto during Rauzzini's benefit concert on December 24, 1790, and performed two of his own concertos at his own benefit concert on December 30, 1790, an evening that also opened with an overture of his own composition.[32]

With the absence of both Bridgtower and Clement in the 1791–92 season, Rauzzini must have been particularly happy to be able to present two young pupils of James Brooks in 1792–93: John Taylor and his sister, Hannah. As Kenneth James points out, the two also may have studied with the violinist Giovanni Giornovichi, who had lodged with the Taylor family during his time in Bath the previous year.[33] These children had exceptional talent and could play some of Giornovichi's difficult concertos. Miss Taylor was advertised as being eleven years of age at the time and her brother a year younger. Rauzzini trumpeted their appearances in the advertisements for the concerts and was rewarded by very positive reviews of their performances in the *Bath Herald* on November 17 and 24, 1792. John Taylor continued performing in the concerts for many years thereafter. In the opening concert of the 1796–97 season, he was described as performing in the "first stile of modest excellence" by the *Bath Chronicle* (December 1, 1796). The *Bath Herald* was more effusive after his appearance at the second concert of the series, writing on December 3 that "Little TAYLOR again made his Violin thrill every bosom with rapture." At the end of the century another young violinist, George Frederick

Pinto (1785–1806), was engaged by Rauzzini. The young Pinto appeared during the 1798–99 season, first on December 12, 1798, and remained in the city until mid-January. Reviews in the *Bath Herald* on December 15, 1798, and the *Bath Chronicle* on January 24, 1799, attest to the young performer's skill and taste. Although announced for the next season of Bath concerts, Pinto did not appear until Mara's benefit concert in late January 1800.[34] After Rauzzini's concerts, the young Pinto undertook a punishing schedule of concerts throughout Britain. Unfortunately, after the concert season of 1804, Pinto began to show signs of the illness that was to take his life. Although listed as "dissipation" at the time, Nicholas Temperley suggests in *The New Grove Dictionary* that Pinto suffered from tuberculosis.[35]

During the first half of the 1790s, Rauzzini continued with his plan of eight subscription concerts followed by concerts during the Easter season. Giving concerts during Holy Week was always a somewhat risky venture as the number of visitors to Bath had usually decreased. Some of the potential audience members came from the surrounding areas; however, their attendance was always predicated on the weather allowing them to travel. The presence of "star" soloists was one way of enticing people to make the trip. In 1792, three years after her failed appearance in Bath, Rauzzini announced that Mrs. Billington would finally make her first appearance there as a singer.[36] Her performance during the Easter concerts was a considerable *coup* for Rauzzini, especially since she was not part of the generation of singers with whom he had worked in London. The hope that her presence in 1792 would draw a large audience including people outside of Bath prompted Rauzzini to present three Easter concerts in the Upper Rooms, in addition to a performance of *Messiah* at the Bath Abbey on the Wednesday morning. He also raised the admission fee to 7s 6d for the evening concerts, although he kept his usual price of five shillings for the *Messiah* performance.

The gamble paid off; the concerts were a great success and the audiences plentiful.[37] The *Bath Herald* relates on April 14, 1792, that the crowd wanting to hear Mrs. Billington exceeded the capacity of the large Assembly Room and that many were turned away. Her performance was reported as being "one of the most perfect performances that was ever presented. The applause that attended . . . on her repeating her last song, "The Soldier tir'd," &c. was never surpassed; it was loud, incessant, rapturous and universal." Mrs. Billington also enjoyed success in *Messiah*, although the *Bath Herald* reported on May 7 that a young singer, Mrs. Elizabeth Clendin[n]ing (1767–99), had found the experience of singing with so famous a colleague to be unnerving, and her performance suffered as a result. Fortunately, this incident did not seriously affect her subsequent career, and her studies with Rauzzini provided a secure groundwork for her at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.

The local newspapers outdid themselves in heaping praise on Mrs. Billington's performances, with the *Bath Herald*, April 7 and 14, 1792,

comparing the Bath performance favorably with the Handel festivals in Westminster Abbey. The *Bath Chronicle* questioned on April 12, 1792, whether or not "the feelings of enthusiasm [could] be restrained from pouring forth its tribute of admiration to the all-commanding excellences of the BILLINGTON? Sublime! Solemn! Pathetic!—Excellencies that may be felt, but defy description; which take the passions prisoner, and wrap the senses in delight." The same source also reports that Rauzzini had been so delighted by her performance that he presented her with a purse filled with money, having been "influenced with a liberality unknown to sordid minds." The newspaper report appears to indicate that the money in the purse came from Rauzzini, a point which cannot be verified today. Given his often precarious financial situation, it is possible that the money came from wealthy visitors who remained in Bath, or perhaps Miss Wroughton. The review gives one further piece of information: "the money in the purse was spontaneously superadded to the terms of her original engagement." It is evident that Mrs. Billington's appearances in Bath had been based on a negotiated fee, as opposed to Rauzzini's practice during the autumn concerts when the soloists were dependent upon a benefit evening for their fee. The fee-for-service model had likely been Rauzzini's practice for his Easter concerts, a season unpropitious for benefit concerts.

A soloist of the stature of Mrs. Billington or Gertrud Mara could not be counted on to appear every year or to perform in all of the concerts. Mara was rather a special case, in that she appears to have been extremely fond of Rauzzini, and had developed a special bond with the Bath audiences. Unfortunately, her busy schedule of engagements elsewhere frequently prevented her spending more than a few days in Bath at any one time. In 1790, the announcement for the series in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 11, 1790, listed her appearances as "for a few nights." She returned for the Passion Week concerts in 1791, but did not appear again until Easter, 1793. For the 1792–93 season Rauzzini engaged Sophia Dussek, née Sophia Corri. Although of Italian descent, Corri was actually Scottish born. She was multi-talented, being a gifted harpist, pianist, and singer. As a singer, she was thought by the critic of the *Diary or Woodfall's Register* on November 21, 1792, to be second only to Mrs. Billington. The soloists for the concerts that season were truly international, with Jan Ladislav Dussek appearing as a keyboard player.[38]

Mara made sporadic appearances at Christmas or Easter in Bath until 1795–96, when she was present for the entire season. Her presence for such an extended time was a result of her having left her husband and fled from London with the flautist and tenor Charles Florio. This created a scandal, not the least because he was nearly twenty years younger than she. Given the notoriety of their actions and the outcry raised by Florio's father over the events, London would not have been a comfortable place for the couple. The younger Florio was not a singer of any great ability, and his early appearances were not appreciated by audiences. Florio was undeterred, and when Mara next

returned to Bath for the 1797–98 season Rauzzini was persuaded to include him as one of the principal singers. He may well have had little choice if he wanted Mara to perform. Thereafter, Mara made Bath a second home, even taking a contract with the Theatre Royal in 1798. She remained in Britain until 1802. Although her voice was beginning to show signs of wear and tear, she continued to sing in some of Rauzzini's concerts, but never again a complete season as a principal singer. Over the years, Rauzzini composed much for her, likely taking great care to display her remaining strengths and minimize the growing weaknesses.

Although Nancy Storace remained devoted to Rauzzini, she did not sing often for him. Her performances during the Passion Week in 1790 were not repeated until 1794 and then again only for the Easter concerts. Although reportedly engaged for the season of 1794–95, she did not appear. Finally, in 1796, she appeared in the first four of the concerts of the autumn series. Her presence was of sufficient significance that Mrs. Powys, although not particularly interested in music, recorded hearing Storace at a concert in the Upper Rooms on November 30.[39] In addition to singing solo pieces in these concerts, she performed duets with the tenor John Braham, and with Rauzzini. By this time, Rauzzini's performances as a singer had become less frequent, but one can appreciate that he may have recognized that the opportunity to perform with two of his finest students was something that might not happen again. Nancy Storace had also been announced to take part in Rauzzini's benefit concert of *Messiah*. She must have taken ill at Christmas, however, because her place was taken by Maria Parke, who had done yeoman duty as the principal singer for the season.[40] Like Mara, Storace was an ornament in Rauzzini's concerts during this decade, but her appearances were too infrequent to carry the weekly concerts during the season. For that kind of responsibility, he relied on singers such as Maria Parke and Ann Cantelo.

During the early years of this decade, complaints began to be raised about some aspects of Rauzzini's programming. It had become common for Rauzzini to program *Messiah* for his benefit evening on Christmas Eve at the Upper Rooms. It is possible that this had become such a matter of routine that the performers did not pay sufficient attention to the musical demands and gave only routine performances. When performed on December 24, 1792, the local media praised the chorus, but commented little on the solo singers. Given that the hardly negligible Mrs. Corri, Madame Dussek, and Jonathan Neild took part in the performance, this is rather surprising. Indeed, it may be that Rauzzini had spent so much time building a chorus that was reported to "excel any in this kingdom, at least in the Oratorio of the *Messiah*," according to the *Bath Chronicle* on April 14, 1791, that he paid insufficient attention to the preparation of the soloists in 1792. Elizabeth Canning, a resident in Bath, wrote to her mother on December 25, 1792, complaining of the "bad performers who so murdered all the fine songs that it was quite shocking."[41] It is

possible that Mrs. Corri, now at the very end of her career, had not had a good evening, although this has not been substantiated. Elsewhere in Elizabeth Canning's letter, she states that she had been much pleased by some of the choral singing, thereby confirming earlier comments about the quality of the chorus that Rauzzini had established. The local newspapers took to suggesting that Rauzzini vary the repertoire of his benefit concerts. The *Bath Herald* rather timidly suggested on December 28, 1793, that "as many persons from the country make a point of always attending his annual benefit, might not the performance be sometimes varied to his advantage, by producing some other of Handel's works?" This was echoed more forcefully by the *Bath Chronicle* on January 3, 1794, which suggested that Rauzzini stop relying on the popularity of *Messiah* and present other works by Handel, such as *Acis and Galatea*, *Judas Maccabeus*, and *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato*. Given that the paper reported that one thousand people had attended his benefit in 1793, it was to Rauzzini's financial benefit to continue attracting such sizeable audiences. Ultimately, Rauzzini took the hint and for a few years from 1794, only selections from *Messiah* were presented, along with other works by Handel.

The mid-1790s proved to be an especially difficult time for Rauzzini. Depictions of the French enemy as being of a "new kind" who attempted to "dissolve Society" and to "extirpate all Religion"[42] created an atmosphere of uncertainty that fed any xenophobic tendencies in the land and encouraged distrust of those who were difficult to categorize. In times of general stress, Rauzzini's status of being outside of the traditional social norms appears to have reawakened some of the old fears about the negative influence of the castrato on society. This is seen in the contretemps that occurred in March 1794, over the scheduling of performances of Handel's *Messiah*, a quintessentially "British" work.

In 1791 Rauzzini had begun to give Easter performances of *Messiah* in the Bath Abbey, in addition to his annual benefit performance of the oratorio at Christmas. Rauzzini applied for permission to give the oratorio in the Abbey in 1794, but the *Bath Chronicle* reported on March 27, 1794, that he had been refused this time "*unless he would consent to give one the next day for the profit of the Sunday Schools*." This seemingly unreasonable demand came from the Committee of Gentlemen who managed the Sunday Schools Charity, a group who did not appear to understand that performances of the oratorio back to back were both impractical and unlikely to draw any more people in the audience than a single performance would, given the size of the Abbey. Rauzzini, moreover, would have had to pay the musicians for two performances rather than just one. In an attempt to maintain his normal performance schedule, he offered to give a performance either sometime before or after Holy Week as a benefit for the Sunday Schools Charity. This offer was refused. Rauzzini then resolved to add an additional concert on April 16 in the Upper Assembly Rooms to his existing schedule of April 15, 17, and 19. Accordingly, he gave

notice to the musicians that they were officially engaged and that a rehearsal would be held at noon for the evening performance. This rehearsal conflicted with the performance of *Messiah* that was going ahead at the Abbey without his assistance. The organizers of the charity concert were furious when it became evident that they no longer had access to the town musicians, who were under contract to Rauzzini. On the surface, his decision to add a fourth concert on the much disputed Wednesday might appear to have resulted from pique. At the same time, he could potentially have lost a significant number of ticket sales because he did not have the larger space of the Abbey for his performance of *Messiah*. The conflict put everyone in an uncomfortable position, particularly James Brooks, who was scheduled to be orchestral leader for the Abbey performance. The result of this debacle was a very public mudslinging in the newspapers.

The Easter concert scandal dragged on for weeks. On April 17, 1794, the *Bath Chronicle* reported on the ugliness of the situation and the accusation made by the Committee of Sunday Schools that Rauzzini was guilty of lying and "engrossing the whole Musick in Passion Week to himself." Unfortunately, Rauzzini's detailed press release in the same paper on March 27, 1794, had blamed the confusion over the Wednesday concerts in part on James Brooks having forgotten about the change in plans. This explanation only gained Rauzzini the charge of "exculpating himself at the expence [*sic*] of another person." The final insult from the Committee of Sunday Schools was to write in the *Bath Chronicle* on April 17, 1794, that "the cause of religion and morality will never be suffered to fall a sacrifice to that of luxury and dissipation." Not only did the notice attack Rauzzini's character, the comments about "dissipation" and the "cause of religion and morality" evoked the old fears about the spread of Catholicism and sodomy at the hands of the castrati. Given Rauzzini's long service to the musical life of Bath, these insults were likely hurtful, especially since he claimed to have given an annual donation of twenty pounds to the charity and had offered to give a performance of *Messiah* a week after his own performance if he would be permitted the use of the Abbey. The results of this exchange of invective in the newspapers were severe, causing a damaging rift in the musical community of Bath. The matter was put before a review committee to examine. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on April 24, 1794, that "the misunderstanding between the Gentlemen of the Committee of Sunday Schools and Mr. Rauzzini, having been submitted to several respectable Gentlemen, we have pleasure to hear, is in a way of being settled to general satisfaction." Just how this resolution had been achieved is not recorded, but the resolution came only after the disagreements had been aired publically and over several weeks. It would be hard to believe that hard feelings did not linger in the community for some time thereafter. Indeed, the visit of Haydn later that year must have been a welcome relief for Rauzzini.

One of the performers scheduled for the 1794 Easter concerts was the Italian violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755–1834), whose music had been heard in

concert in Bath as early as 1790. A warm friendship appears to have developed between Rauzzini and Viotti, whose letters provide insights the effects of the dispute had on the audience: he wrote to his friend Margaret Chinnery on April 17, 1794, praising Rauzzini's goodness and honesty. Ultimately, Viotti played four times instead of the two concerts to which he had originally agreed.[43] Viotti stayed at Rauzzini's summer house of Perrymead, just outside the city limits. He was much taken by the generosity of Rauzzini's hospitality and the beauty of the surroundings, but was puzzled by the seeming coldness of the Bath audiences.[44] It is possible that the audience's restraint might be attributable to the unhappy circumstances surrounding the concerts, a situation that he may not have completely understood. Viotti obviously respected Rauzzini, however, and the violinist returned later that year to play in several of the winter subscription concerts.

Other tensions in the musical community of Bath may have contributed to the continuing financial losses incurred by Rauzzini's subscription concerts. Longstanding resentment over the seeming second-class status of British soloists rose to the surface at this time. Kenneth James has investigated the situation of Sarah Second (née Mahon), who had been engaged as principal female soloist for the 1791–92 season but who had been overshadowed by the success accorded to Madame de Sisley. If, indeed, a rift had emerged in the audience or within the community of musicians in Bath, as James hypothesizes, the effects would have been unfortunate for Rauzzini. When Mrs. Second organized a benefit concert for herself on January 4, 1794, it was under the auspices of the Catch Club, not the subscription concerts. Rauzzini had long been a member of the organization and had often taken part in their performances. Unfortunately, however, the Catch Club had recently suffered an internal upheaval when its secretary, William Wordsworth, made an injudicious toast at the final meeting of the club in 1793 and was subsequently dismissed. The controversy was sufficient to attract notice in London: the *Times* reported on January 8, 1794, that "the late altercation that took place in the Catch Club, is now terminated by the dimission [*sic*] of the Secretary." The situation polarized the musicians in Bath, many of whom became unavailable for Mrs. Second's concert. She was greatly displeased. A notice appended to the advertisement of the concert in the *Bath Chronicle* on January 2, 1794, states that she thought it her duty "to inform the Publick (in consequence of a prevailing report that the Band will be deficient . . .), no expence [*sic*] shall be wanting to render her Concert deserving the patronage it has received, and that Performers are engaged, in aid of the Pump-Room Band, from *London*, *Oxford*, and *Bristol*." This situation leads James to conclude that "she may have represented a fairly large group who were not only disinclined to support Rauzzini's performances but were eager to undermine his position as director of Bath's music."[45]

Rauzzini was dependent upon the elite company of visitors to Bath for the success of the subscription concerts, but the growing sense of unease over

political matters played against him. During the early 1790s, the fear grew that yet another war with France was inevitable, and visitors to the city began to frequent the public spaces of Bath less often. It appears that private concerts were beginning to eclipse the popularity of the subscription concerts. The *Bath Herald* reported on November 3, 1792, that "Private Concerts seem now to be a prevailing amusement here:—Two were given this week, where many Amateurs and principal Professionalists attended." This was not an economy measure as the audience could certainly still afford the subscription prices; rather concerns over the welfare of the country caused its leading citizens to adopt a more circumspect attitude by comparison with their carefree abandon of earlier seasons. This is understandable when there were fears that the country might soon be at war or even invaded by French armies. Given the reports of what was happening to the French aristocrats, fear appears to have caused aristocratic members of the audience to withdraw into more socially restricted spheres. Even once the initial fears of the war with French had abated, the private concerts continued to be very popular.

While Sunday evenings became the most popular time for private concerts, they were occasionally given on other nights, regardless of the conflicts that might occur with other scheduled entertainments. On December 22, 1802, the *Morning Chronicle* reported on a concert given on a Friday night by the Duchess of York: "The first great musical party at Bath, by the Duchess of York, was given on Friday evening last. The whole fashion of the place was present. It was aided by Signor Rauzzini and Miss Parke." Also taking part in the concert was Tommaso Rovedino (1789–1860) who sang and accompanied himself on the guitar, while Rauzzini accompanied others at the piano. Even the duchess performed, singing "in the most charming and finished style" in her duets with the young Rovedino. A concert such as this by the Duchess of York would have been a high point in the Bath season, as it was not something given on a regular basis. Performing duets with a thirteen-year-old boy rather than with a professional singer such as Miss Parke was likely perceived as not having crossed social boundaries, rather, an example of demonstrating leadership that came from aristocratic breeding. Other private concerts were given on a far more regular basis but they did not boast such exulted social standing.

The weekly private concerts on Sunday evenings likely gave employment to local musicians and opportunities for young soloists to be heard. These soloists were often young ladies, either students or talented amateurs. Amongst the most prominent of these Sunday evening concerts were those given in the home of Miss Wroughton. At the end of the century, Mrs. Powys observed that "the once celebrated beauty, Miss Wroughton, still keeps up her consequence by her large parties, and fine concerts every Sunday evening, where Ranzzini [*sic*], and many amateurs sing and play. The Prince [of Wales] always attended to hear Miss Mayo (Mrs. Lutwyche's niece), sing and play, and indeed I never heard anyone so charming."[46] Miss Wroughton may have been able to attract

the attention of the press and the Prince of Wales, but not all members of the aristocracy believed it proper to attend her concerts. Mrs. Powys continued her account with "not that I attended Miss Wroughton's Sunday concerts, as I quite agreed with the two amiable Duchesses of Newcastle and Hamilton, who never would appear there on those evenings."[47] Mrs. Powys does not give the reason for the refusal of the two duchesses and herself (and presumably others) to attend. The very fact that they were presented on Sundays might have been sufficient for the more pious members of society to reject them. On the other hand, it is possible to conjecture that the obvious friendship between Rauzzini and Miss Wroughton, much speculated on over the years, made them socially unacceptable to some. Miss Wroughton may have been wealthy and a member of the gentry, but her close association with musicians from a lower class would have made her concerts less "select" than those given by the Duchess of York and her set. The same professional musicians may have performed in both types of concerts, but Miss Wroughton did not keep any social distance from them. That said, she appears to have been quite impervious to criticism or censure. In 1803, the Bishop of Meath preached a sermon in Bath condemning the Sunday evening card parties and concerts. This did not disturb Miss Wroughton one bit; Mrs. Powys records that "Miss Wroughton declared she would always have her Sunday concerts, for all the bishops."[48]

Miss Wroughton continued to figure prominently in the social and musical life of Bath. After Rauzzini's subscription series had ended she occasionally gave concerts on Wednesday evenings on a larger scale. One such occasion was on March 6, 1793, when she gave a concert in honor of the Duchess of Cumberland "when all the Beauty and fashion of the Town were present." The performers included young ladies who were non-professional but had studied with some of the finest masters. Even Rauzzini is listed as having taken part in the performance of a terzetto likely of his own composition. The names of the young performers and their teachers were published in the *Bath Herald* on March 9: Miss Woodward (Mrs. Miles and Dussek), Miss Gubbins (Mrs. Miles), Miss Coote (Mrs. Miles), Miss Bathoe (Dussek), Misses Harrington and Miss H. Gubbins (Rauzzini), and Miss Glass (the late Dr. Burney, and Signora Mortillari). The concert appears to have been both a social and musical success, with the *Bath Herald* claiming that the performers "delighted the ears of every person present."

Examination of the concert programs in appendix A reveals that Rauzzini's programming for the concerts during the first three years of the 1790s began to diverge from those of the previous decade. While the first act of the concert still continued to present new or recent music, the second act no longer exclusively presented "ancient music." As a result, there was a reduction in both the amount of music by Handel and in choral singing. It would appear that the *concerti grossi* of Corelli were not performed between December 30, 1789, and January 1, 1794, and the performance of a *concerto grosso* by

Geminiani in February, 1790, was exceptional. The reasons for this change in programming are not completely certain, although there are several possible explanations. The Bath audiences may have grown tired of older music and Rauzzini may simply have responded to their wishes. At the same time, he may have thought that presenting more concertos with international soloists would be a drawcard for audiences at a time when they were beginning to decline in numbers. The music of Haydn continued to be popular, with some concerts presenting two of his symphonies on the same evening, as did the music of J. C. Bach: several unspecified "full pieces" by the latter are listed in this period, often at the close of the second act of the concert. No music by Mozart appears to have been performed between December 2, 1789, and November 17, 1794, but works by Dussek, Krumpholtz, and Myslivecek were performed with some frequency, as were vocal works by Italian composers such a Salieri, Cherubini, Sarti, and Paisiello.

Haydn's Visit

After the unsuccessful series of concerts in 1793–94 and the debacle of the Holy Week concerts in 1794, the prospect of a visit from one of the most celebrated composers of the century must have been uplifting for Rauzzini. Joseph Haydn arrived in Bath on August 2, 1794. He was accompanied by the flautist Andrew Ashe and the Venetian composer Giambattista Cimador.[49] The visit had presumably been arranged by Ashe to serve as a brief respite from the hectic schedule that Haydn faced in London. Ashe knew Bath well for he performed there frequently, taking over the direction of the Bath concerts after Rauzzini's death in 1810. H. C. Robbins Landon records the following details about the trip, in Haydn's words:

> On 2nd August 1794, I left at 5 o'clock in the morning for Bath, with M^{r} Ashe and M^{r} Cimador, and arrived there at 8 o'clock in the evening. It's 107 miles from London. The Mail Coach does this distance in 12 hours. I lived at the house of Herr Rauzzini, a *Musicus* who is very famous, and who in his time was one of the greatest singers. He has lived there 19 years [*sic*], supports himself by the Subscription concerts which are given in the Winter, and by giving lessons. He is a very nice and hospitable man. His summer house, where I stayed, is situated on a rise in the middle of a most beautiful neighbourhood, from which you can see the whole city.[50]

This pithy commentary raises several interesting points. From Haydn's perspective, Rauzzini was a former singer who supported himself through teaching and directing concerts. There is no mention of Rauzzini's compositions, yet it would seem most unlikely that either Ashe or Rauzzini had not mentioned that the latter had composed a large body of music by the time of Haydn's visit. Although Haydn's time in Bath predated the major concert season, Haydn

records having met composers (in particular, Henry Harrington) and performers such as Miss Brown, presumably the daughter of the violinist Abraham Brown, whom Haydn reported to have been a fine keyboard player.[51] Given these references, Kenneth James hypothesizes that Haydn's visit was celebrated with music making on some level.[52] What such occasions might have been were not recorded, for the local press was too much concerned with the events of the war effort against France to report on musical matters.

While at Perrymead, Haydn saw a monument in the garden that Rauzzini had erected in memory of his deceased dog, Turk. The pug appears to have been a great favorite of Rauzzini and it is pictured, along with its master, in a formal painting made by Joseph Hutchinson, owned by the Holburne Museum but now located in the Herschel Museum in Bath. The dog, shown in Rauzzini's arms, wears an elaborate padlocked collar. Rauzzini is formally dressed and wears a dark suit, white cravat and grey, powdered hair. The date of the portrait is given as "ca. 1795," although if the picture was painted from life, it must have been done several years earlier.[53] Haydn paraphrased the last line of a text found on the monument ("Turk was a faithful dog and not a man"), and set it to music as a canon. This parting gift pleased Rauzzini so much that he subsequently had the music inscribed on the garden monument.[54]

A Need for Change in the Concert Management

Rauzzini's financial situation had reached a critical juncture by the mid-1790s. During the 1792–93 season he continued to run a notice in his advertisements up to the midpoint of the series announcing that, once the subscription had reached the number that permitted moving the concerts into the ball room, he would introduce choruses by Handel into the program. Since he only introduced choral music in the concert of December 26, 1793, it would appear that the number of subscribers remained low throughout the season. A similar notice appeared in the concert notices for the 1793–94 season but no choral concerts were ever given. This is surely an indication of the financial crisis that was looming for Rauzzini. This crisis was succinctly stated by the *Bath Chronicle* on February 13, 1794: "We regret exceedingly to learn that the subscription to the Concerts, which are not surpassed in this kingdom for judicious selection and performance, has fallen so short this season, that their worthy conductor Rauzzini will be a great loser by them."

Examination of the concert repertoire for the 1793–94 season (see appendix A) reveals that Rauzzini had made serious reductions to his programming in response to his financial situation. Apart from the usual principal players in the orchestra, the only instrumental soloists were the Lithuanian-Polish violinist Feliks Janiewicz, often anglicized as Felix Yaniewicz, and the Italian oboist Gaetano Besozzi. While both men were worthy performers, neither had the fame of predecessors such as Pieltain and Fischer. The concerts were shorter

and presented fewer vocal selections than had been the norm. In part, this may have been because Rauzzini only had two vocal soloists for the entire season, Jonathan Neild and Theresa Negri. Neild was Rauzzini's former student who was still establishing his career; Negri was a fairly minor singer in London with little "star power." She had sung occasionally for the various concert societies in London and had also appeared at the King's Theatre as the second *buffa* singer. She may have studied with Rauzzini while she was in Bath, for the local media commented upon the improvements in her singing by the end of the season. She appears to have disappeared from the music scene after 1796.

The absence of the all-important "Company" during the 1794–95 season made matters even worse for Rauzzini. The *Times* reported on December 12, 1794, that "Bath is at present very thin of company, which the inhabitants attribute to the usual military visitors of that fashionable place of resort being on a much more disagreeable service." Additionally, a report in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on January 13, 1795, reveals that "there never were, perhaps, fewer of the *haut ton* at Bath, than during this season—very few Lords, and not a single pair of lawn sleeves, Archbishop or Bishop, can be found on the books."[55] It is evident from these reports that the aristocracy and the high-ranking members of the church had forsaken Bath and that the military officers, who often presented a colorful presence at the balls, were otherwise occupied fighting the war. This placed Rauzzini in an uncomfortable position. He needed to increase revenues from the sale of tickets but increasing the cost of the tickets would discourage those who were in Bath from attending.

His strategy was to maintain the same full subscription price as that of the previous year, but the newspaper advertisements state that there was to be no half-subscription available at the mid-point of the series. Those who arrived late in the season would be required to purchase individual tickets for the remaining concerts at a higher rate. To make this palatable to audiences Rauzzini needed a high profile performer to open the season, and he trumpeted the engagement of Nancy Storace as principal soprano for the opening concerts. Advertising began in September, earlier than normal, with notices appearing in the *Bath Chronicle* on September 25, 1794, and in the *Morning Herald* in London on September 26, 1794. Ultimately, and for reasons not recorded, Storace had to withdraw, thereby causing considerable disappointment for the concert goers. Her place was taken by Maria Parke (1772–1822), the daughter of the oboist John Parke. She had been thrust into the London musical world at an early age as a keyboard player, but subsequently established a fledgling career as a vocalist. Parke had performed at Haydn's benefit concert in London on May 2 and he returned the favor on May 19 when he presided at the keyboard at her benefit concert. Haydn may even have drawn Rauzzini's attention to the young singer when he visited in Bath in August 1794. Parke received good reviews for her singing in Bath, although she was likely viewed as being more of a novelty than a singer of reputation such as Storace or Mara: although Parke

had a London reputation, she lacked the cachet of Continental stardom. Given the earlier unpleasantness with Sarah Second and the Catch Club, the withdrawal of Storace from the subscription concerts appears to have cast a pall over the series that did not lift until the arrival of Mara on December 31.

Unfortunately, Mara's arrival appears to have come too late to save the season from financial embarrassment. Subsequent difficulties also developed. Although Rauzzini advertised his planned Easter concerts in February, 1795, so as to avoid conflicts with other charity events, he was still denied the use of Bath Abbey. It appears likely that a rift continued to exist amongst the various groups of musicians in Bath. This was injurious to all concerned when Britain was at war and the forces of nationalism were being called upon to fight against a Continental enemy. Rauzzini may not have been French, but he was obviously foreign and a castrato. His preeminence in the city's music-making had likely become resented. Given the past losses he faced, the concert series could not continue with him being solely responsible for its artistic and financial existence. A much-needed second benefit concert was planned for him on April 8, 1795. This concert may well have had overtones of unpalatable charity: Rauzzini released a statement in the *Bath Chronicle* on April 2, 1795, announcing that this would be his last concert "as Manager and Director the Subscription Concerts," "unless a plan [could] be suggested to prevent his being a loser in the future." The *Bath Herald* printed on April 11 a satirical account of Rauzzini appealing to Apollo which intimates that the concerts would be taken over by an outside group:

APOLLO AND RAUZZINI
CRIES the GOD to the MORTAL, indignant and wrath,
"Dar'st thou boast having guided the concerts of Bath"
"It is true I *employed* thee, and lent thee my Lyre,
"But mine was the Genius, the Taste and the Fire!"
"Alas! I confess it—and find that to thee
"Belongs all the FAME—all the LOSSES to me!"
"Despair not, my Son," the God mildly replied,
"I have hit on a method to turn Fortune's tide—
"The MUSES as *Partners* we'll engage for a term,
"And my Name shall appear at the head of the Firm;
"The Wealth, Beauty, and Fashion will instantly flow
"To the Room of APOLLO, RAUZZINI, and Co."

On May 2 a meeting of interested parties was held at the New Rooms, at which time it was decided that a committee of twelve wealthy individuals, under the direction of Sir George Colebrooke, would underwrite any costs of the series that were not met by the sale of tickets.[56] In a lengthy announcement found in the *Bath Chronicle* for May 7, the committee outlined the changes to the concert series. There were to be nine instrumental concerts, with three

additional "Choral Nights" to be given periodically during the season. These Choral Evenings existed outside of the subscription series and cost extra. Benefit evenings were restricted to one for Rauzzini and one for the principal female singer. The other soloists appear to have been put on fixed salaries at this point. From an administrative perspective, reducing the number of benefit performances and restricting the number of times that a chorus was required was likely beneficial. Certain economies appear to have been introduced as there was little newspaper advertising of the concerts, with only the *Bath Journal* giving occasional detailed listings of the repertoire. These, however, were restricted to the opening concert and the three Choral Evenings. The latter likely needed such advertising to encourage people to attend.

The committee instituted a new scheme for ticket prices which provided more flexibility and increased options for subscribers. The May 7 notice in the *Bath Chronicle* provides a detailed listing of the options:

> That a subscription of Two GUINEAS shall entitle such subscriber to an *Admission* Ticket each Concert night, *not transferable*; and also to *Two Tickets*, transferable to LADIES *only*.
>
> That a subscription of ONE GUINEA and a HALF shall entitle such subscriber to an *Admission* Ticket each Concert night, *not transferable*; and also to One ticket transferable to a LADY *only*.
>
> That a subscription of ONE GUINEA shall entitle such subscriber to an *Admission* Ticket each Concert night, *not transferable*.
>
> That subscriptions be received for *part of the Concerts* on the following terms viz.
>
> That subscription of ONE POUND FOUR SHILLINGS shall entitle such subscriber to an *Admission* Ticket *not transferable*, and *Two Tickets* transferable to LADIES *only*, to the FOUR Subscription concerts following such subscription.
>
> That subscription of EIGHTEEN SHILLINGS shall entitle such subscriber to an *Admission* Ticket *not transferable*, and *One Ticket* transferable to a LADY *only*, to the FOUR Subscription concerts following such subscription.
>
> That subscription of TWELVE SHILLINGS shall entitle such subscriber to an *Admission* Ticket *not transferable*.

The cost of the Choral Evenings was to be three shillings for subscribers of the general series. The cost for non-subscribers for any concert, including the Choral Evenings, was set at five shillings. The new scheme should have benefited everyone. The move to negotiated contracts provided greater financial security for the soloists and Rauzzini was no longer personally responsible for any financial shortfalls. At the same time, he retained his authority in all matters musical. One can imagine that Rauzzini took pleasure in the quick

response to the possibility of the city losing the concerts, although it was unfortunate that the longstanding issues of financing were not addressed before he had been forced to threaten to withdraw.

The 1795–96 season proved to be a considerable success. Rauzzini had been able to hire four vocalists, including Madame Mara, for the entire season, a significant coup. If the visiting instrumental performers were less prestigious, he at least had three child violinists, Master Loder, John Taylor, and his sister, Hannah, to capture audience interest. The *Bath Chronicle* subsequently reported on December 24, 1795, that "the universal satisfaction expressed at the CONCERTS of this season, and the great encouragement they have met with, reflect the highest credit on the Committee of Gentlemen." Rauzzini was also praised and referred to as "that excellent composer," an indication that his music was increasingly finding favor in the concerts. While few programs from this season of concerts are extant, they reveal that the concerts were rather short, and that the Choral Evenings were largely devoted to the music of Handel, interspersed with a few instrumental concertos and a sole representation from Boyce's *Solomon*.

This period in the history of Bath saw more than a few changes in its musical life: the downturn in the economy had a serious effect on the professional orchestral musicians who lived in Bath. The subscription concerts were dependent upon the participation of the musicians from the Pump Room and the Theatre Royal to create the concert orchestra. Only a smaller portion of the money earned by these musicians came from the subscription concerts, as they were reliant on the other organizations to make the larger part of their living. Unfortunately, those who played in the Pump Room Band had had their services steadily cut back, and now only played for about a third of the time that they had twenty years earlier.[57] This created a financial crisis for them and the city corporation ultimately had to step in and take action. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on December 24, 1795, that a benefit concert with tickets costing five shillings was proposed to assist the musicians. This was a short-term solution, and one that did little to make the musicians feel secure about their future survival, which was determined primarily by the country's financial condition and the lack of support for social dancing. Even with the best of intentions, the committees of the wealthy and influential men now overseeing the various musical activities in Bath could not control such situations. It had been their intention to take any surplus monies and use them to establish a fund for the past members of the Pump Room Orchestra and their widows and orphans. No such surplus was forthcoming and the plan was dropped, much to the anger of the musicians, who demanded to review the committee's books.[58] That they were granted their demand would have been remarkable at any other time in Bath's history, but perhaps less so in 1796 considering the events of the French Revolution. Ultimately, the musicians had to admit that there had been no mishandling of the finances from the benefit concerts. A

statement of appreciation found in the *Bath Chronicle* on February 25, 1796, praises "the COMMITTEE FOR REGULATING THE MUSICK AT THE PUMP-ROOM, for their general countenance and protection, and particularly for their support of the present Concert." Thanks were also expressed to the "CORPORATION OF THIS CITY for the great liberality of their subscription of *Fifty Pounds*, in aid of the Fund for continuing the Pump-Room Musick."

Although a potential crisis was averted, a further blow came just before the Easter season of 1796 when the Bishop of Bath and Wells "issued an episcopal mandamus against the customary encouragement of oratorios at Bath in passion week [*sic*]." As the *Star* reported on March 25, "Poor RAUZZINI and his musical host are not a little disconcerted at this unlooked-for event." Even though concerts had been announced and soloists engaged, there was nothing to be done but obey the Bishop's edict and bring Bath into line with other cities in the kingdom in terms of entertainments during Holy Week. Had this happened prior to this season, Rauzzini would likely have been bankrupted. It was the members of Sir George Colebrooke's committee who were now forced to underwrite the financial losses.

These men may not have been prepared to accept all of the financial responsibilities that came with membership in the various committees on which they served. Several of them also belonged to the Catch Club, an organization that, of late, appeared to have been antagonistic toward Rauzzini. Several of Colebrooke's committee were members of the Catch Club and contrived a meeting of that organization during which it was suspended for the season 1796–97, thus raising questions about their integrity. A New Harmonic Society, whose concerts subsequently attained popularity, was then set up to replace the Catch Club.[59] Around the same time, mention of Colebrooke's committee for Rauzzini's concerts disappears from the media. Kenneth James surmises that the committee dissolved itself because its members were "more interested in making money for themselves than in the well-being of the city's musical life. . . . When it became clear that all chance of financial gain from the concerts had been removed, the committee lost their will to continue their financial support."[60] It may be that the members had lost money in the previous season because of the cancelled Easter concerts, and then abandoned the scheme. No record of the dissolution of the committee has been found, although Rauzzini subsequently spoke of it in the past tense in the *Bath Journal* on December 10, 1798, when he described its members as the "Gentlemen of the Committee, who conducted the Concerts in 1795." There is, however, another conjectural explanation for why that committee did not continue their administration. The satire of "Apollo and Rauzzini" from April 11, 1795, contains the line: "The MUSES as *Partners* we'll engage for a term." It is possible that the committee had been put in place for one season only, and that their reorganization of the management of the series was meant to provide a template for Rauzzini to follow in the future. The return of financial responsibility

back to Rauzzini was apparently not generally known. An announcement in the *True Briton* on January 10, 1797, states that the concerts are "still under the tasteful direction of Rauzzini, but are not now undertaken at his risque," when, in reality, it appears that the committee had disbanded after one season.

Rauzzini Resumes Full Control of the Concerts

One might question why Rauzzini would have continued the concert series when it did not always make a profit. Several reasons can be put forward. The series was so completely intertwined with his teaching activities as to be symbiotic. Rauzzini's most promising vocal apprentices took part in his concerts, initially singing ballads and other less-demanding repertoire before graduating to more difficult concert songs and arias. Some of these young singers eventually achieved national or international prominence, thereby furthering Rauzzini's reputation as a pedagogue. During his thirty years in Bath, Rauzzini trained generations of young singers who went on to have significant careers both in Britain and on the Continent. The concerts also gave Rauzzini his link to the world of professional music-making and an opportunity to perform with soloists of great renown. He had spent much of his life as a performer, and the Bath concerts allowed him the opportunity to flex those muscles in the company of great singers and instrumentalists. The preparations for the concert series were likely arduous, but the concerts must have been a welcome change from teaching wealthy private pupils and taking part in private concerts.

The 1796–97 season began with great expectations, not least because Nancy Storace was slated to appear. There had been no announcement concerning the disbanding of Colebrooke's committee so it would appear that subscribers assumed that the policies of the previous season remained in place. This boded well for the new season of concerts given that there had been general satisfaction with the management in the previous year. The *Oracle and Public Advertiser* stated on November 19, 1796, that "the twelve nights under the direction of Rauzzini at the New Rooms, are most fashionably patronized." While Maria Parke is mentioned as the lead female soloist (she and Rauzzini were the only ones scheduled to receive a benefit evening), Braham, Neild, and Nancy Storace are referred to as the "principal *vocal* performers": Parke was evidently eclipsed in popularity by Storace. To Rauzzini's benefit, the social life in Bath was beginning to return to a semblance of its former self. Mrs. Powys records in her diary for January 2, 1797, that Bath was particularly full of "persons of quality," including the Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of York, the Stadholder and Princess of Orange, numerous earls, dukes, marquises, counts, and countesses. The ball in the Upper Rooms on January 2 was evidently a glittering occasion for some fourteen hundred people.[61] The result was that Rauzzini's concerts in 1796–97 were well attended. The opening concert of the season "was more fully attended than any *first* Concert was ever

known to be, and none ever gave more general satisfaction," according to the *Bath Chronicle* on December 1, 1796. The *Bath Herald* reported on December 3 that "RAUZZZINI'S SECOND CONCERT on Wednesday Evening was in the Great Room, which was full, a very unusual circumstance so early in the Season." The *Bath Chronicle* reported December 15 that "it gives us great pleasure to say, that this elegant Entertainment has been this season uncommonly well supported and attended." The same reviewer praised Rauzzini for the "able and spirited manner in which the concerts are conducted," and the "moderate expence [*sic*] of the Subscription," concluding that the concerts were "without competition in this kingdom." While this kind of puffery is not uncommon in newspaper accounts, the quality of the performances was high, with Storace, Braham, and Neild as vocalists, and John Taylor and Mrs. Miles performing concertante works. Unfortunately, bad weather affected Rauzzini's benefit night performance of selections from *Messiah* and other sacred works, with fewer than seven hundred people braving the elements to attend. Those who did attend were treated to the first appearance of the season of Maria Parke who sang like "an angel, the divine air, *I know that my Redeemer liveth*," according to the *Bath Chronicle* on December 29, 1796.

Rauzzini continued the same plan of organization that had been instituted by Colebrook's committee, including the various subscription plans and the three Choral Evenings that were separate from the general subscription. He also kept unchanged the charges for those who only wanted to have a subscription for only four concerts ("For the Accommodation of STRANGERS").[62] From the surviving concert notices that appeared in the local newspapers, the concerts remained relatively brief, often approaching the average span of modern-day concerts. While the subscription concerts went well for Rauzzini during the 1796–97 season, issues arose during the 1797–98 season even though Madame Mara, Maria Poole, Miss Comer, and Jonathan Neild were the featured vocal soloists. These singers were known quantities whose appearances were much appreciated. The regular concerts appear to have been well attended. A letter dated January 18, 1798, from Madame Mara survives in which she states that the "concerts are very Brilliant & have a great success—I live in hopes of a good benefit."[63] What was no longer appreciated by the Bath audiences was having to pay extra for the Choral Evenings.

Rauzzini appears to have been wary about whether or not the Choral Evenings would be a success. As a warning to the Bath audience, he announced the following in the local newspapers at the outset of the season: "Mr. RAUZZINI respectfully assures the Public that the only means by which he can possibly continue the concert on the present terms of Subscription, is by having the CHORAL NIGHTS duly countenanced; which circumstance he earnestly recommends to the consideration of the Subscribers." The first of these evenings was presented on December 13, 1797, when Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum* was performed, likely in response to the British naval victory at the Battle of

Camperdown on October 11 of that year. Although the *Bath Chronicle* claimed on December 21, 1797, that there had been a "very numerous and fashionable company" present, it appears that the opposite was true, with much of the review taken up with extolling the efforts made by Rauzzini and encouraging the public to support him. The lack of support for the first Choral Evening was disappointing for Rauzzini, especially since his own patriotic song with chorus, "Jervis and Duncan: or the Year Ninety-Seven," was given its second performance in Bath. First heard in Bristol, the song had been acclaimed at its initial performance in Rauzzini's Bath concerts on November 22, 1797, the opening night of the season.[64] The piece also celebrated the Battle of Camperdown, a significant event in a decade when British victories in the war with France had not been plentiful. The text, which begins with "Thy Navy old England has long been thy pride," was again by William Meyler.[65] Rauzzini might reasonably have expected a good turnout for the Choral Evening when the music was to be repeated; the eventual lack of attendance was not only seemingly unpatriotic but also an insult to Rauzzini. Not surprisingly, Rauzzini continued with warnings about the need to attend the Choral Evenings throughout the season in his concert advertisements.

The third of the choral concerts in this season proved to be even more problematic. This concert had been announced for Ash Wednesday, February 21, 1798. Complaints from the religious community were raised so late in the day that Rauzzini was justifiably piqued. On March 1, 1798, the *Bath Chronicle* released a notice to the public stating that Rauzzini had attempted to make all necessary changes to the program so that it included only sacred music, much of it by Handel. Uncharacteristically for Rauzzini, he also included a strong objection about the manner in which the complaints had been handled and the opposition which he was receiving in his attempts to organize concerts. Ultimately, the concert attendance was very poor and tempers flared. The account in the *Bath Chronicle* concludes with: "Since the foregoing observations were written, I have discoursed with many persons, and I have found them very warm in the dispute which has been, unfortunately for the harmony of the Bath Society, set on foot." The comment that a dispute was "set on foot" implies that there were parties in Bath who had become enemies of Rauzzini and were actively trying to undermine his musical presence in the city. If this was the case, it might explain a comment that found its way into the *Oracle and Public Advertiser* on August 28, 1798: "Rauzzini, the celebrated Italian Musician at *Bath*, is in such a precarious state of health, that his dissolution is expected every moment." The word "dissolution" is a curious choice if, indeed, there was a concern for his personal health. If the comment was directed toward the state of his concert series, it makes rather more sense. The resurrection of disputes over the presentation of concerts during Holy Week could not have been seen as a positive step forward in mending the factions in the musical community in Bath.

Although most reviewers had previously praised Rauzzini's repertoire choices and his polished performances, a new trope emerges in this season that reflects the changing social demographic of Bath society away from the aristocracy to the genteel "middle class," and a fear of the perceived negative influence of Continental culture during a time of war. On January 11, 1798, the *Bath Chronicle* called for a greater increase of simple, British songs in Rauzzini's concerts, while condemning the florid Italian school of singing:

> Miss COMER's melodious tones gave additional charms to the popular ballad of "Mary's Dream."—Perhaps the more frequent introduction of these simple and affecting airs would be far from displeasing to the majority of the audience. The elaborate beauties of Italian composition may delight the *chosen few*, the adepts in musical science, but "they are *caviare* to the multitude," whose attention must be gained by an appeal to their feelings rather than to their taste. The complicated and difficult execution of the foreign school can only exact the cold applause of the judgement; but it is the province of the simple, intelligible, and pathetic harmony of the Scotch and English ballad, to seize irresistibly on the imagination, and deeply interest the heart.[66]

Given that the concert under review had included the prodigious talents of Madame Mara, who sang compositions that had been calculated to display the compass of her voice and her "scientific execution," the above comments appear to challenge the traditional identity of the Bath subscription concerts with the call to make them more like the programs heard at the Vauxhall Gardens in London.

The remarks also give further credence to the existence of a schism in the musical community of Bath. Mischief of another sort may also have been in the air in October 1798, when the *Bath Herald* printed on October 13 an erroneous story about Rauzzini's being in London to supervise Michael Kelly's opera *The Outlaws* at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. How the newspaper got hold of this tale is not known, but Rauzzini was quick to repudiate it. Coming as it did just before the start of the fall season, the intention may have been to make it appear that Rauzzini was either losing interest in the Bath concerts or was going to discontinue them. Rauzzini responded in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 1 that he had planned a season with "more vocal and instrumental novelty than in any previous season." Rauzzini again followed a similar subscription strategy to those of the two previous seasons but with a ten-shilling increase in the cost of a full subscription. This increase reflected his decision to include the three Choral Evenings as a part of the subscription, as opposed to trying to entice people to pay extra for these concerts. Rauzzini justified his decision in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 15, 1798, in the following terms: "*the very heavy Expence on the CHORAL NIGHTS lays him under the Necessity of annexing those THREE CONCERTS to the Subscription. This small Deviation from the Plan formed by the Gentlemen of the Committee, who conducted the Concerts in the*

Year 1795, is not only made with their Concurrence, but was a Measure advised by them when they relinquished the Management of the Concerts." Concertgoers were subsequently encouraged to accept this plan as comments found in the *Bath Herald* on November 24, 1798, suggest: "It is well known that . . . he has many years sacrificed his own pecuniary interest to gratify his subscribers, and has brought them the first talents of Europe."[67]

In his attempt to entice subscribers, the *Bath Chronicle* reported November 1, 1798, that Rauzzini had secured manuscript copies of symphonies by Haydn and Kozeluck, with newspaper reports stating that the copies of Haydn's works were "fresh from Paris." Which of his recent symphonies were involved is not made clear, though the "Paris Symphonies" (nos. 82–87) are possible candidates. Later reviews, however, mention Haydn's "celebrated Military overture," apparently a reference to his Symphony no. 100 (one of the "London" symphonies). Any of these works would have been a considerable undertaking for the Bath orchestra, especially the "London" symphonies, most of which last a half hour and require great skill to perform well. Viotti had been pleasantly surprised by the quality of the orchestral playing Bath in 1794; indeed, it was so good that he refused the offer of his student, Philippe Libon, to come from London to play in the orchestra: evidently, there was no need for the extra help.[68] The standards of orchestral execution may have fluctuated, however. A letter sent to the *Bath Herald* by a correspondent on November 24, 1798, strongly criticized aspects of the orchestral execution of the symphonies of both Haydn and Kozeluck in the opening concert, calling attention to the "undue ascendency of the double drum, which played with such rigour and perseverance by the invincible *Briareus*, as utterly to drown and confuse the beautiful passages of the other instruments." One of the double bass performers was similarly criticized for overplaying.

Greater success was evidently to be found in the area of vocal music in the concerts. Rauzzini took the comments about the need for more English ballads on the programs very seriously and responded in a significant way in the opening concert of this series. Not only were three of the female singers British (Mrs. Mountain, Miss Comer, and Miss Andrews), but he also introduced his new song in the ballad style called "The Negro Girl," which was sung by Miss Comer.[69] There was considerable critical acclaim for his choice of this type of song. The reviews in the *Bath Herald* on November 24, 1798, praised Mrs. Mountain's performances of "the simple style of *Ballad*," which were judged to be unrivalled. Because of her skill in this area, she was considered to provide "considerable strength to the amusements of this place." A letter from a "Correspondent" in the same issue similarly praised the choice of singers, expressing the wish "that all the singers, and all their songs were of the pure English School." Similar comments appeared in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 29, 1798, which reported that the "musical selection was made with the accustomed taste of the able conductor, and a judicious

introduction of more *English* songs than usual evidently met the approbation of the audience."

Rauzzini must also have felt a strong pressure to be seen as being patriotic and supportive of the war effort against Napoleon. At Rauzzini's spring concert, given on April 10, 1799, a "Grand Battle Piece" that had been composed by a Mr. Kroll was programmed. Kroll was attached to the Russian court at Saint Petersburg: the *Bath Chronicle* of April 4, 1799, states that "this piece of musick has been sent from Russia (at which Court it has been performed with the greatest applause) to the *right Hon. Lady Nelson*, who has done Mr. RAUZZINI the honour to permit it to be performed on the above evening." The advertisement included a description of the programmatic elements of the eight movements that celebrated Nelson's victory over the French fleet at the entrance to the Nile.[70] Whatever Rauzzini might have thought privately about the music or the need to perform it, he brought in two soloists from London, Giuseppe Viganoni and Carlo Rovedino, both from the King's Theatre. The concert was exceptionally well attended, with over thirteen hundred present. Unfortunately, Kroll's music was second-rate; Mrs. Powys describes it as "monstrous continued noise."[71] A quintet by Paisiello elicited much praise, however: the *Bath Chronicle* stated on April 4, 1799, that no performance of a similar type of composition had been undertaken previously in the century. Viganoni and Rovedino must have given pleasure to the audience for their names appear in the roster of artists engaged for the first two concerts of the 1799–1800 season.

It is clear that Rauzzini could no longer count on having only his Christmas benefit concert to provide him with sufficient cash flow to survive the financial fluctuations of the subscription concerts. As a result, he began to program a second benefit concert in the early spring, which was usually a mixed vocal and instrumental concert similar to his winter subscription ones. For his spring benefit concert in 1800, he announced Haydn's ever-popular "Military" symphony. Matters did not unfold as he had planned. A concert handbill in the Bath Central Library contains the following note: "in consequence of the Property of the MILITARY OVERTURE having fallen into Litigation, he [Rauzzini] is deprived the Performance of it, as was announced for this Evening." This was yet another vagary of the problems in presenting concerts.

The music of Handel dominated the programs of the three Choral Evenings during the 1798–99 season. The first and third of these concerts (December 12, 1798, and March 6, 1799, respectively) presented mixed vocal and instrumental music by Handel, while the second (January 16, 1799) contained extended excerpts from *Judas Maccabeus*. Rauzzini may have been making a subtle rebuttal to those who clamored for music in the ballad genre with his choice of Handel's music for these choral concerts. The review of the first Choral Evening in the *Bath Chronicle*, on December 20, 1798, states that "Handel's harmony has lost nothing of its wonted fascination. Notwithstanding the puny objections made to the sublime stile of this great composer by *would-be* musical

critics, his fame must live, and his compositions must attract, as long as any remains of true taste shall exist amongst us."

Unfortunately, the success of the concerts this season was upset when the Magistrates informed Rauzzini that no concerts could be given on either January 30 (the anniversary of King Charles's martyrdom) or February 6 (Ash Wednesday). This created a logistical nightmare for Rauzzini. Other performing groups in the city had already announced performances on the Wednesday evenings after the scheduled final concert of his series and his "star" vocalists, Madame Mara and Jonathan Neild, had engagements elsewhere that could not be delayed. According to the *Bath Herald* on February 2, 1799, a public meeting was held on January 24 under the chairmanship of Granado Pigott, a member of the Committee of Gentlemen who had managed the concerts in 1795–96. After much discussion, it was resolved to request that a scheduled Dress Ball be postponed so that a concert could be given on Thursday, January 31.

The remaining subscription concerts were presented on February 13 and 20, and March 6. At the same time, it was decided that audience members could no longer hold seats at the Upper Rooms for their friends who had yet to arrive. Neither decision proved to be popular, although the first was seemingly unavoidable. The change of dates pushed the end of the subscription concerts very late into the 1798–98 season and initiated a chain reaction of rescheduled events. The *Bath Herald* reported on January 25, 1799, that the benefit evenings for both John Taylor and Mrs. Miles (Jane Guest) had to be rescheduled. Furthermore, Mr. Chard was imported from Winchester to supplement the efforts of Miss Comer and Miss Worrall in the absence of Mara and Neild. Although Mary Comer had enjoyed success in the season, neither Miss Worrall nor Mr. Chard had more than a local reputation. The season that had begun with all guns blazing ended as something of a damp squib.

The final season of the century began well for Rauzzini. Although the country remained at war, there was a greater sense of normalcy in the daily life of Bath. If some of Rauzzini's traditional audience base was turning to other places for their winter seasons, enough remained to give Bath a sense of its former grandeur. The *Bath Herald* records on November 23, 1799, that

> the First Subscription Concert commenced on Wednesday with an unusual splendor, having been honoured by a numerous assemblage of fashionable Visitants—not less than 700; which occasioned the Performance taking place in the *Great Room*; an event *unprecedented* at the commencement of this elegant Amusement. This circumstance augurs well to its liberal Conducto[r], whose efforts and success in obtaining a *Phalanx of the first Musical Abilities* in the Kingdom, must assure him a continuance of public patronage.

Similar sentiments were echoed in the *Bath Chronicle* on November 28, 1799, where the satisfaction of the audience is recorded, especially for the vocal

performances of Giuseppe Viganoni and Carlo Rovedino from the King's Theatre and the former Miss Comer (now married to the flautist Ashe). The three sang individually and in a trio that "surprised as much by its novelty, as it delighted by its harmony." The authorship of this trio is not known as the program was not listed in the Bath newspapers, although it is quite possible that it was a composition by Rauzzini. Viganoni's canzonetta "was admirably calculated to display the uncommon graces of singing which he possesses." Similarly, Mrs. Miles was praised for her customary taste and skill in her choice of keyboard concerto.

At the second concert, a vocal debut was made by a Miss Jackson, presumably a student of Rauzzini. Nerves got the better of her in her first song, and the *Bath Chronicle* for December 12, 1799, reported that she was "prevented . . . from exerting to advantage those vocal powers which nature has bestowed upon her in no common degree." She recovered and "increasing confidence gave [the audience] an opportunity of feeling in her second attempt, that [they] had not anticipated too much." Domenico Dragonetti (1763–1846) made his Bath debut at the next concert. His playing of the double bass brought forth a rapturous review by the critic of the *Chronicle* on December 19. He marveled at the performer's "unequalled ease in managing the instrument" and "the delicacy and softness of tones, where one expected naught but rough and rumbling sounds." The critic from this same newspaper made the unusual comment after the second concert that Rauzzini would have been better off omitting the cymbal in Haydn's Symphony no. 100 in G major ("Military"). The sound of the cymbal appears to have been "loud but not *tuneful*"; indeed, too loud for the "circumscribed space of a ball-room." This is a rather cavalier statement to make given that the omission would have rendered a serious injustice to Haydn's music. It begs the question as to whether or not the critic understood that the instrument was an integral part of the scoring.

The vocal soloists for the season included Viganoni, Rovedino, Neild, Mrs. Mountain, Mrs. Ashe, Miss Andrews, and Madame Mara. It is unfortunate that so few of the concert programs were published; even those that were are vague about the actual songs that were performed. It is evident that Rauzzini had attempted to address the criticisms of the previous season with an increase in the number of English songs and less reliance on Madame Mara's abilities with florid singing. For the critic of the *Bath Herald*, however, this was not enough. In a review of the first concert of the season, published on November 23, he wrote:

> In closing these remarks, we cannot help observing that the more frequent introduction of English Songs and Ballads, than was the case last year, would be more acceptable—for notwithstanding the scientific beauties of Italian composition are highly gratifying—still they are confined to a *select Circle*—and do not interest the general feelings of the Audience, therefore those Airs should often be selected whose simple and affecting melodies would

> diffuse an universal delight; for if Compositions of this kind are sung with genuine feeling, they captivate the heart by an impulse irresistible, and leave an impression which the obliterating hand of time finds it difficult to efface.

These comments are surprising given that Rauzzini had taken extra pains in the previous two seasons to introduce more English ballads into the programs. He had also hired singers specifically to sing glees (see appendix A). None of this appears to have been sufficient for a vocal, pro-British part of his audience. It is not hard to see how the changing social demographic of the Bath audience had resulted in a demand for a different type of concert programming, one that had the dangerous possibility to fracture his audience base. Florid Italian singing, the delight of aristocratic audiences, presumably the "*select Circle*," no longer appealed to another segment of the audience, which had more middle-class tastes. The comments must have been a sharp disappointment to Rauzzini for they not only attacked the very foundation of his training and experience as a singer but they put him in the untenable position of trying once again to appeal to the highly divergent musical interests of his audience. He accomplished this at the beginning of the nineteenth century by performing glees with a group of male singers (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, and Doyle), who were specially hired to perform this repertoire. This put Rauzzini in competition with the Harmonic Society in Bath. A sign of the times, however, is to be found in the lavish praise given to the glee singers by the *Bath Chronicle* on December 8, 1803.

Madame Mara's name was still listed in larger type than that of the other vocal soloists in the advertisements for the 1799–1800 season, although in truth she sang very little. She had been ill at the beginning of the season and was unable to sing until Rauzzini's benefit concert of *Messiah* on Christmas Eve. A rumor started that her illness was a fabrication on the part of Rauzzini to ensure that he would have a good house for his benefit evening, a suggestion of underhanded tactics that must have been hurtful. The critic of the *Bath Chronicle* wrote at length on November 26, 1799, about Mara's singing and the rumor that had been in circulation:

> [Mara] was more wonderful than we had ever heard her before, and seemed, since last we met, to have "improved upon perfection." Comparing her successful efforts with the circumstance of a late severe illness, we cannot but pronounce her an *unequalled* singer, for if thus powerful and impressive, under the debility of recent indisposition, what would it have been in the vigour of undiminished health! It is but justice to Mr. Rauzzini to endeavour here to wipe away a prejudice, that has most unfairly and illiberally gotten ground, of his having fabricated the report of Madame Mara's illness, in order to reserve her as *a lure to his own benefit*. We *believe* this idea to have originated with, and to have been circulated by *those*, who wished an excuse for not paying an additional crown last night, that *resentment* of supposed ill-usage might be urged as a plea for withholding their favour. But however the

> calumny arose, we are *certain* it was without foundation, and have authority of the best nature to declare, that Madame Mara was utterly unable to take any song in the orchestra of Wednesday last; and so much weakened by previous indisposition, as to have expressed her doubt to a medical gentleman, of being able to go through the exhausting song of last night, "I know that my Redeemer liveth."

It may have been that Mara made a herculean effort to perform in *Messiah* that night, as much for herself as for Rauzzini. By the end of the century her voice was showing signs of wear. She was now fifty years of age and her general health may have suffered as a result of the rickets that she suffered as a child. Fortunately, the evening proved to be a triumph for her, one that Rauzzini likely much appreciated. When Mara left town near the end of the series to fulfill other engagements, Mrs. Mountain stepped in for the concluding concerts. On February 13, 1800, the *Bath Chronicle* cited her as being "the only female who could supply the absence of Mara." Given that Mrs. Mountain had been praised in recent years for her skills with English ballads, the comment that her appearance so late in the series gave "regret at the speedy termination of an entertainment by far the most elegant and best supported in this great emporium of taste & pleasure," may have had a double meaning.

It is difficult to provide statistical data on the various composers represented in the concert programs once Rauzzini resumed full control; few composers are actually named in the surviving advertisements. Mozart's name appears twelve times before 1800 for the performance of unspecified overtures, although some of these may have been symphonies. Haydn's music, on the other hand, had become a mainstay of Rauzzini's concerts; his name appears over a dozen times for performances of various overtures and unspecified full pieces during this period. It is likely that all of these works were symphonies, but it is not possible to identify specific works beyond no. 73 in D major ("La Chasse"), no. 94 in G major ("Surprise"), and no. 100 in G major ("Military"), Overtures Nos. 1, 2, and 8 are also mentioned in the published programs, but these numbers do not correspond to the modern numbering of Haydn's symphonies. Unfortunately, it is not usually possible to tell how often individual works were repeated on the programs. Without doubt, Rauzzini would have had a wide choice of music by Haydn readily available to purchase from the London publishing house of William Forster. Once Haydn had been permitted by his patron, Nicholas, Prince of Esterházy, to publish his own music, he entered into agreements with several publishing firms, including that of Forster, who by 1787 had released 129 works including 82 symphonies.[72] Given the availability of Forster's scores, it makes Rauzzini's securing manuscript copies of Haydn's music from Paris for the 1798–99 season strange. Perhaps more surprising is a return to performance of works in the *concerto grosso* tradition. Corelli's music was heard five times before the end of the century and Geminiani's thrice. Was it because this music was less difficult than the modern

Viennese classics that had wind and brass parts? Or was it that he already had the parts and did not need to purchase new scores? It would also be of great interest to be able to identify the piano concertos played by the adventurous Jane Miles. Unfortunately, only unspecified works by Cramer, Dussek, and Steibelt are named.

By the end of the century, Rauzzini faced conditions in Bath that were very different from those twenty years earlier. The demographics of his audience had shifted and some were coming to resent his prominence in the musical life of Bath. The *Bath Chronicle* review from December 26, 1799, of the recent *Messiah* performance is revealing on other fronts. It is clear that Rauzzini had enemies who were willing to spread calumnies about "ill-usage." While the critic of the newspaper does not specify the nature of the alleged ill-usage, it is likely that there were those who believed that the increase in ticket prices in recent years had made Rauzzini a rich man. That he was a foreigner and presumed to be making large sums of money was resented, especially in a time of war when British patriotism was at its height. It also seems that there were many who simply did not understand or accept the kind of financial risks that Rauzzini undertook when he presented the subscription series. While he had survived the final decade of the century, one must question if the financial circumstances in which he found himself had improved substantially. He was again financially responsible for the concerts and dependent upon the whims of an audience that appears to have fractured along disparate lines of interest. When viewed from this perspective, it would seem that organizing Bath's concerts was no easier at the end of this decade than it had been at the beginning. Indeed, it was likely even more difficult.

The Bath Concerts of 1800–1810

The last decade of Rauzzini's life saw a further change in the social milieu of Bath, as it became less fashionable with the aristocracy and more of a residential community, one that would have liked to be seen as a part of the *ton* but who really did not have the financial resources to maintain such a lifestyle in London. This segment of society might want to attend concerts as much as the aristocracy did, but they did not always have the available income for such luxuries. On March 7, 1800, Mrs. Powys recorded that Bath was very full, but it was not many years thereafter before there was a sharp decrease in the annual influx of visitors.[73] The *Bath Journal* reported on December 12, 1803, that the season "has hitherto been very dull," but the hope was expressed that an influx of visitors would result in a return to "the splendour of former years." Unfortunately, with the change in social demographics there also came changes in tastes. Advertisements in the Bath newspapers (1802–3) for the New Royal Ampitheatre reflect such changes with their mention of exhibitions

of tightrope walking and other entertainments that are reminiscent of the Sadler's Wells Theatre in mid-eighteenth-century London. For someone such as Mrs. Powys this represented a lowering of the social standard. She also much resented the increased interest in gambling. On January 28, 1805, she wrote that "the number of card-parties quite spoil the balls, as 'tis fashionable to attend five or six before you go to the rooms. . . . The rooms are not half so agreeable as they were some years ago."[74] The late hours and general excesses appear to have affected the health of young people, for she records that "formerly youth were seldom ill; now, from thin clothing and late hours, you hardly see a young lady in good health, or not complaining of rheumatism, as much as us old ones!"[75] The *Morning Chronicle* recorded on February 21, 1809, that "Bath still continues very full, though it cannot boast of so many of the *haut ton*." Furthermore, the number of military men stationed there, along with paroled French officers, appears to have created a social imbalance (at least compared with the previous century) for the same account continues, "the Dress Balls, on Mondays, have not been well attended this season, owing, it is thought, to improper persons being admitted with the tickets which are *transferrable*; but the Cotillon Balls, being only open to subscribers, are select, and indeed overflow with the best company." Bath, it appears, was beginning to find it difficult to maintain its socially select status, or perhaps even an appropriate social balance.

The new century, however, began well for Rauzzini. An account of the opening concert published in the *Courier and Evening Gazette* of London on November 22, 1800, reported that "Mr. Rauzzini's concerts commenced on Wednesday night, and it was the most brilliant and crowded *first Concert* ever seen in this city, being attended by nearly nine hundred persons, most of whom are esteemed for acknowledged taste, or superior distinction in life." If this report is true, the ball room of the Upper Rooms must have been very full. The account alludes to the mixed nature of the audience. The word "Company" is not used and the term "superior distinction" is really not synonymous. The *Bath Herald* reported on December 6, 1800, that the concert of December 3 had attracted such a number that the "large concert Room last Wednesday had an overflowing audience at an early hour." The advertised vocal soloists were very familiar to the Bath audiences (Viganoni, Rovedino, Neild, Mrs. Ashe, and Madame Mara), although Rovedino was joined by his wife this season and a couple of young singers were also mentioned. The former boy soprano Master Thomas Welsh now returned to the concerts as a principal bass singer. Viganoni and Rovedino continued to delight the audiences, although their appearances were limited to the early concerts. Their departure was timed to coincide with Madame Mara's first appearance, of which the *Bath Chronicle* reported on December 4 that she was "as great as ever." That paper also printed a very appreciative review of the opening concert on November 27 which drew particular attention to Mary Ashe's performance of Rauzzini's ballad "Ellen."

Once again, Rauzzini organized twelve concerts, with three of these being choral nights. On the first of these evenings (December 10), Haydn's *Creation* was presented, a work that was still very new to British audiences. The oratorio had been given its British premiere on March 28, 1800, during a Lenten performance at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, directed by John Ashley. Salomon quickly followed up with his own performance on April 21 in London. The oratorio was also featured at the Three Choirs Festival in August of the same year.[76] Rauzzini's performance was thus the second to take place outside of London. This was a considerable undertaking for all concerned, as the Christmas benefit of *Messiah* followed soon thereafter. One can only admire Rauzzini's energy to meet the demands of preparing such large quantities of music for this series. Having John Ashley performing in his orchestra must have been a considerable advantage for Rauzzini, however, and he appears to have expected that his performance of *Creation* would attract a large audience. A handbill from the evening has been attached to Rauzzini's own copy of the score at the Royal College of Music in London.[77] On it, one reads: "AS the ORATORIO of CREATION this Evening is expected to be extremely crouded [*sic*], Mr. RAUZZINI most respectfully intreats [*sic*] the Company will, on this occasion, allow the Seats to be regularly and fully occupied."[78] Rauzzini assembled a strong line up of soloists for the performance: Jonathan Neild, Thomas Welsh, Mary Ashe, and Madame Mara. Neild sang the part of Uriel, Welsh the parts of Raphael and Adam; and Ashe and Mara shared Gabriel's music. In addition, Madame Mara sang the part of Eve.

There appears to have been some speculation as to how the public would compare the older work of Handel with the more up-to-date style of Haydn's music, as noted by the *Bath Herald* on December 20, 1800. Rauzzini, however, had a trick up his sleeve to entice an audience to the familiar concert of *Messiah*. Dr. Henry Harington (1727–1816), a well-known medical doctor and politician in Bath, was also admired for his musical compositions. He had composed a setting of the last words of Christ on the cross, "Eloi! Eloi Lama Sabachtlani?" and this composition was inserted into Handel's music at the appropriate point in the oratorio. The *Bath Herald* reported on December 27, 1800, that it "corresponded so well with the divine original, that it appeared only wonderful that Handel himself could have passed over that important passage of our Redeemer's sufferings. Mara, Welsh, and Neild, entered into the very spirit of this ejaculation; the audience felt its force, gave it a general *encore*, and confessed that the name of Harington would accompany to posterity that of the immortal Handel." The propriety of encoring this music given the meaning of the text appears open to question.

It is possible that the issues that had emerged in the last decade of the previous century encouraged Rauzzini to increase his musical profile in London. If his instrumental music does not appear to have been often performed there, his vocal music was frequently heard in various London concert series. Many

of the finest singers of the period, such as Madame Mara and Mrs. Billington, trumpeted the new songs that had been especially composed for them by Rauzzini. Samuel Harrison's performance of Rauzzini's "O, Cynthia, every joy was mine" at the Academy of Ancient Music was deemed significant enough to name the poet Dr. Wollcot, as well as "Signor Rauzzini of Bath," in the *Morning Chronicle* on January 29, 1802. In the same year, a new comic opera in three acts, called the *Cabinet*, was introduced at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. It featured a pastiche score by Rauzzzini, Braham, Moorehead, Davy, Corri, and Reeve. The advertisements for the new work made claims that the music was "entirely new." An even more unusual venture on the part of Rauzzini was to have joined forces with Mara and Dr. Arnold for a series of sacred concerts at the Haymarket Theatre in London in March 1801. Handel's music continued to be a drawing card for audiences even in the nineteenth century, as the following notice from the *Morning Chronicle* on February 25, 1801, demonstrates:

> The genius of Handel still lives with undiminished power. Indeed his works can never cease to attract all lovers of good music, while they are assisted by such performers as we find in the list of the Haymarket.—Madame Mara and Dr. Arnold have entered with a degree of spirit into the business, which needs not to ask public favour, as it cannot fail to *command* it. They are preparing several novelties, among which are Dr. Arnold's new Oratorio of "*Elisha*," and a new sacred performance by Rauzzini, of Bath, who comes to town in order to preside when it appears.—The *Messiah* this evening will probably bring an overflowing house.

The "new sacred performance" by Rauzzini was a Requiem Mass, a curious choice perhaps in Anglican Britain, especially for performance in a theater. The Requiem Mass was first performed on March 18, 1801, and repeated on March 25. The music was not published, but a text was prepared for the audience that shows that the Mass was given on the same evening as the second part of Arnold's *Redemption* (itself based on music by Handel), and selections from Haydn's *Creation*. Of Rauzzini's setting of the Requiem text, only two portions appear to have survived. The aria "Inter oves locum praesta" was sung by Madame Mara.[79] The text, "Grant me a place among the sheep, and take me out from among the goats, setting me on the right side," might not seem to invite a virtuoso setting. Rauzzini, however, gave Mara a showpiece aria with a two-octave range (c′–c‴), extensive passagework of up to ten measures, and long-held top notes. The music generates much excitement, but with none of the other solo music extant, it is difficult to assess the appropriateness of Rauzzini's response to the Requiem text generally. The other surviving portion of his setting is the chorus "Oro supplex et acclinis." Here, the music, in F minor, is grandly imposing and appropriate to the meaning of the text, "I kneel with submissive heart, my contrition is like ashes, help me in my final condition." The unison opening makes use of a chromatically inflected descending

line for dramatic effect. The opening of the chorus was later used on the top of Rauzzini's memorial tablet, placed in the Bath Abbey by Nancy Storace and John Braham.

Rauzzini's continued dedication to Haydn's music is also demonstrated by his performances of the latter's oratorio *The Seasons* on January 12, 1803, less than two years after the work's Viennese premiere. Rauzzini's performance appears to have been the first in Britain; the work was not heard in London until March 8 of that year. Both the *Times* (January 17, 1803) and the *Morning Chronicle* (January 20, 1803) printed detailed notices which report on the success of the concert as being due to Rauzzini's leadership of the orchestra and chorus. Of the soloists, Mrs. Second appears to have reconciled herself with Rauzzini for she appeared as the principal soprano. The *Times* records that she "was encored in several airs." The oratorio was presumably presented in English since all references to the performance in newspapers give the English titles and aria incipits.

Concert Pricing in the Last Decade

Rauzzini may have found it difficult to maintain the high quality of his concerts when the country was at war and his audience contained fewer extremely wealthy people by comparison with the previous century. At the same time, costs continued to rise and it was necessary to increase his subscription rates. On November 19, 1804, in the *Bath Journal*, Rauzzini announced the following variety of subscription options for the 1804–5 season, which consisted of twelve concerts including three Choral Evenings:

£3 13s 6d. 1 ticket for all concerts and 2 tickets for each concert transferable only to ladies.
£3 3s 0d. 1 ticket for all concerts and 1 ticket for each concert transferable only to ladies.
£2 12s 0d. 1 ticket for all concerts and 1 ticket for each concert transferable only to ladies, the Choral Evenings excepted.
£2 2s 0d. 1 ticket for all concerts, not transferable.

A partial subscription was also available at the following rates:

£2 0s 0d. 1 ticket for 4 concerts and 2 further tickets for these concerts that were transferable only to ladies. [Also included in this option was a single ticket for 1 Choral Evening (not transferable).]
£1 10s 0d. 1 ticket for 4 concerts and 1 further ticket for these concerts that was transferable only to ladies. Also included in this option was a single ticket for 1 Choral Evening (not transferable).
£1 1s 0d. 1 ticket for 4 concerts and 1 Choral Evening (none transferable).

Single tickets were available now at six shillings, a price designed to discourage most people from "cherry-picking" only the concerts and performers that they wished to hear. It is evident that Rauzzini attempted to provide as much flexibility as possible for his audience while still giving himself some sense of the financial prospects of the series. This plan of pricing was continued in the 1805–6 season, although the option of purchasing a subscription without the Choral Evenings was dropped. His audience stood by him. The *Bath Chronicle* reported on November 28, 1805, that Rauzzini's first concert of the season was fully attended and that many of the supporters of the concerts who had not subscribed in the previous year had returned to the fold.

A sign that his audience now contained more middle-class families is revealed in the pricing plan for the 1806–7 season. Rauzzini was nothing if not enterprising when it came to change. The *Bath Journal* reported on November 10, 1806, that a subscription could be purchased that would "entitle the Subscriber, and any *Two Ladies* of the Subscriber's Family (if Wife, Daughters, or Nieces), to admission to each Concert and Choral Night. The names of the ladies to be given at the time of subscribing. *Tickets, not transferable.*" Surprisingly, this progressive addition to the subscription plan did not gain general approval and Rauzzini felt obliged to publish a rationale for the plan. The *Bath Herald* reported on November 22, 1806, that Rauzzini had introduced this plan because he had been losing upward of several hundred pounds per year on the concerts. The expenditures for the previous seasons of concerts had been £1,685 5s 2d, which had not been met by the ticket sales. In spite of this explanation, the announcements for the 1807–8 series of concerts indicate that the family plan had been dropped. The dichotomy of Rauzzini's situation appears to have been that his concerts were well attended but they did not pay their own way.

An examination of the concert programs for the 1806–7 season reveal that Rauzzini cut back considerably in the number and quality of his soloists. Giuseppe Naldi, of the King's Theatre, appeared only once, and Nancy Storace and John Braham each appeared only once after their performances in Rauzzini's benefit performance of *Messiah* on December 24.[80] Indeed, the series was short on vocal glamour until Maria Parke's arrival on January 7, 1807. Rauzzini had been forced to promote Mr. Doyle, formerly a glee singer, to the ranks of soloist to create sufficient variety in his performances. Even the Choral Evenings contained very little actual choral singing. The ranks of solo instrumentalists were similarly thin, with Robert Lindley making only two appearances as a cello soloist. The only novelty came in the person of the ten-year-old violinist Master Gattie.

It appears that Rauzzini believed that the prices for his concerts were as high as the market would bear. If he could not increase revenues, he would be forced to cut expenditures. This he did in the 1807–8 season by reducing the number of concerts from twelve to nine, and presenting only

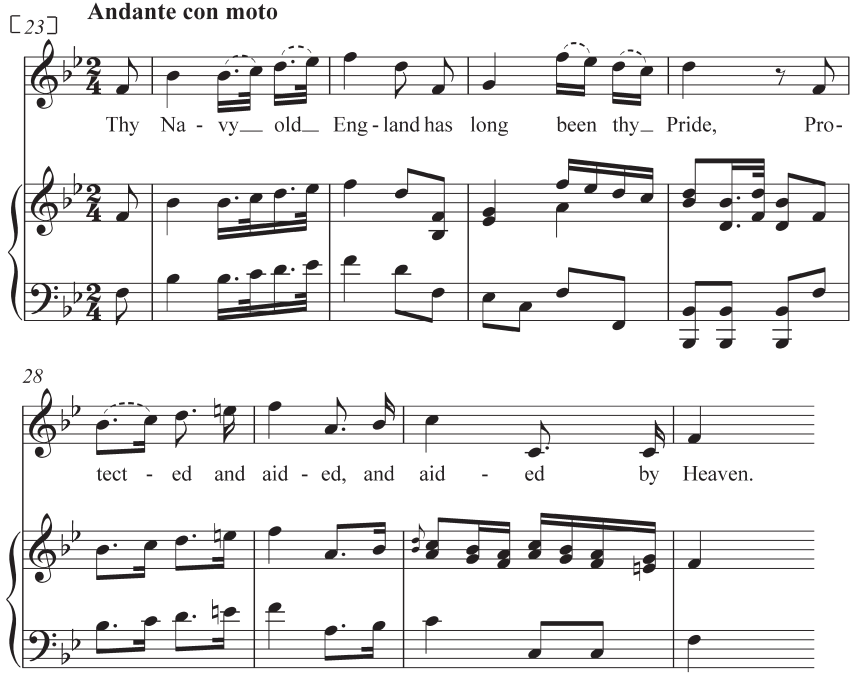
two Choral Evenings. He also increased the price of individual tickets to concerts to seven shillings. These individual tickets did not present any particular threat to the subscription plan since the price was too high to make them attractive to anyone but a visitor to town for a short period. Even with this reduction in his overall expenditures, the next season of concerts was very restricted, with few solo instrumentalists and fewer large-scale orchestral works being performed.

Rauzzini and Patriotic Song

As a foreigner in a country engaged in a long and debilitating war, Rauzzini needed to be seen as a patriot in his adopted country and to compose appropriate music. "Jervis and Duncan" had been introduced at the opening of the 1797–98 season. As mentioned above, its repetition was not, however, supported by the Bath audiences. Set for tenor voice (performed by Mr. Taylor), chorus and orchestra, the song had been well received by both the press and the audience at its premiere and had elicited praise for Rauzzini's composition. The *Bath Herald* wrote on November 25, 1787, that "the Concluding Piece, (as a *Musical* Composition), is truly excellent, and will rank Mr. Rauzzini still higher in the list of Fame, than the World had, with one concurring voice, long exalted him. It was a grand, sublime, and successful attempt at a style which few composers of the present day would presume to aspire to, and was received; as such Music ever will be, with the loudest approbation." Rauzzini's four-verse strophic setting is certainly energetic, with many martial rhythms. While the first three verses end with a brief choral setting, the last verse concludes in a much-extended chorus. The music is more in keeping with James Hook's patriotic music heard at the Vauxhall Gardens than Rauzzini's earlier concert music, an indication of how much Rauzzini had been prepared to adjust his musical tastes to accommodate those of his audience. The music proved to be sufficiently popular to be published both as an independent piece and in his *Periodical Collection of Vocal Music* from 1797.[81] Contemporary praise for Meyler's text must be credited to patriotic fervor and local pride. The final verse follows:

> The DUTCH stood aghast on their cannon[-]shook shore.
> Despair and Destruction in fight,
> Their Ships all Dismasted—sides streaming with gore.
> Unable to run as to fight.
> DE WINTER and REYNTER, the Admirals twain,
> With nearly the whole of their HOST,
> Grac'd the brave British DUNCAN's invincible train,
> So vanish'd their Maritime boast.
> BRITANNIA—BRITANNIA
> Thus vanish'd their Maritime boast.

Example 7.1. Rauzzini, "Jervis and Duncan," mm 23–31.



Rauzzini ended his first concert of the 1798–99 season with his new March dedicated to the Volunteer Corps of Bath. It was described by the critic of the *Bath Herald* as being animating and grand, which may explain why Rauzzini frequently used it to conclude his concerts. The critic of the *Bath Chronicle* was even more generous in his praise of this composition when he wrote "Mr. Rauzzini's concluding march evinced the versatility of his genius, which seems to adapt itself, with equal facility, to every walk of musical composition, to the grand and majestic, as well as to lighter lyrical efforts. This elegant compliment to the zeal and spirit of our city soldiers will, we trust, induce these *young heroes* to consider Mr. Rauzzini as entitled to their *protection* in more ways than the military capacity."[82]

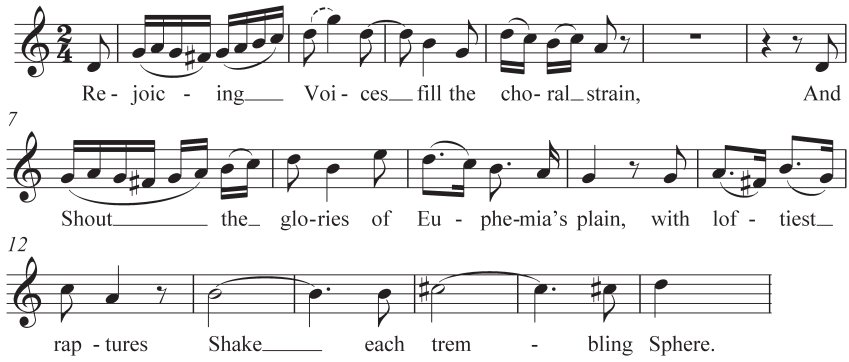
The need to maintain a patriotic stance continued to be of great importance during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Britain had been Rauzzini's home for over twenty-five years; thus he had every reason to view himself as a patriotic Englishman and anti-French. He was also likely much disheartened by the French invasion of the Italian peninsula. Rauzzini expressed his patriotism through music in two ways. The first was in his clever programming of older music that was deemed to be

appropriate to the time of war; the second was through his own compositions. On December 14, 1803, Rauzzini programmed extended excerpts from Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* for his first Choral Evening of the season. As the detailed listing of the music chosen shows (appendix A), there was an emphasis on texts dealing with liberty. This emphasis did not go unnoticed by the critic of the *Bath Herald*, who wrote on December 17, 1803, that the choice of music from *Judas Maccabeus* had been particularly propitious when "British patriotism and valour are summoned to the defense of everything." Rauzzini also affirmed his loyalties by continuing to compose topical pieces that responded to specific events in the war. His "Dirge for Lord Nelson" was first performed in Bath on November 20, 1805, less than a month after Nelson's death on October 21. Rauzzini's music appears to have captured the intense sadness that the country felt when Nelson's loss was announced. The *Bath Journal* on November 25, 1805, considered the new work to have been the principal attraction of the concert: "a composition full of the most sublime effect . . . which was heightened by the unexpected display of a beautiful Transparency of the much lamented Hero, executed in an admirable style by the ingenious Mr. Herbert." When the work was repeated at the concert of November 27, the same paper commented December 2 that the composition "drew tears of grateful sensibility." Unfortunately, no copy of Rauzzini's music has been discovered.

One of Rauzzini's most popular patriotic songs was called "The Battle of Maida." The music consisted of an extended recitative and aria that covers nine pages in the score published by Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co. [1806].[83] The words, by Sir George Dallas, praise John Stuart, who led the successful British victory over French troops outside of the town of Maida in Calabria on July 4, 1806. In the process Stuart prevented the French invasion of Sicily, so the British felt that a significant victory had been won. The poem was long enough for Rauzzini to structure his music as a multimovement cantata, designed for the talents of John Braham. The work opens with a recitative ("Strike the Harp"), followed by an Andante Sostenuto ("All grateful raise"), an Allegro ("Hark, Fame her brazen"), and an Allegretto ("Rejoicing voices"). The setting gave Braham the opportunity to display both his declamatory and coloratura skills.

Rauzzini's setting proved to have more substance than the tepid poetry might otherwise suggest. Introduced by Braham at the Bath concert of December 31, 1806, the work had considerable currency, and was often heard in London. It was performed three times during the oratorio concerts at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in March 1807, and John Braham advertised it for his benefit night at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on May 11, 1807. These performances likely helped further promote Rauzzini's image as a British patriot. The final section of the piece is melodically memorable, and has much rhythmic energy.

Example 7.2. Rauzzini, "The Battle of Maida," Allegretto, "Rejoicing voices," mm. 1–17.


Re - joic - ing Voi - ces fill the cho- ral strain, And
7
Shout the glo-ries of Eu - phe-mia's plain, with lof - tiest
12
rap - tures Shake each trem - bling Sphere.

The Final Years of the Subscription Concerts under Rauzzini

During the early years of the nineteenth century Rauzzini should have been comfortable in his position as concert director and secure in his financial prospects. Unfortunately, the reverse appears to have been the case. While he had been director of the concert series for over two decades, and had earned the respect of the local community, there had been a shift in the social demographics of his audience. The country was also much concerned by the Napoleonic war. Financial pressures and the realization that he could not increase his subscription costs appear to have been the motivation to reduce the number of subscription concerts from twelve to nine in 1807. Examination of the lists contained in appendix A suggests that concerts were not as long as they had been in the 1780s and there were far fewer high-profile soloists to attract audiences. Gertrud Elizabeth Mara, one of his greatest attractions, left Britain in 1802. Nancy Storace and John Braham then became Rauzzini's biggest drawing cards, while Charles Incledon and other former students made occasional appearances. Such was the attraction of Storace and Braham that Rauzzini mounted a special concert to celebrate them on January 16, 1802, because they were required to leave Bath before the end of the subscriptions concerts to attend to other commitments.

It appears that much of the singing in the concerts of the last decade was undertaken by current students or those who had recently finished their studies with Rauzzini. As the listings in appendix A show, some of the singers even took to accompanying themselves at the piano for their songs. This practice may have been designed to show off their multiple talents but, in hindsight, it appears somewhat amateurish: one wonders if Rauzzini no longer had

adequate rehearsal time with the orchestra. Close to the end of the decade, Angelica Catalani provided a degree of vocal glamour that had been largely absent from the series in the recent past. Rauzzini, however, could not afford to hire her often. In the instrumental department, the number of concertos dropped during this time and there was an increase in the number of songs. Indeed, the programs of the last five years appear to be somewhat threadbare and formulaic. On the one hand, the frequent performances of Haydn's Symphony no. 100 in G major ("Military") were appropriate during a time of war; on the other hand it could be conjectured that it was performed so often because the orchestra knew it well and did not require much rehearsal time.

The other significant problem faced by Rauzzini during this period was finding a balance between true concert music and works of a lighter nature, such as English ballads and glees. As noted above, the press had made demands that more English vocal music be performed and Rauzzini responded by hiring glee singers and programming more songs in the ballad tradition. He also increased his own compositional output in the latter area, often with considerable success and audience appreciation. In spite of these efforts, reviewers still showed on occasion their impatience with Italian vocal music. A review in the *Bath Journal* on December 5, 1808, indicated that an unnamed new ballad by Rauzzini had been the highlight of the opening concert of the season. At the same time, the reviewer complained that it should have been placed earlier in the program, rather than at the end of the second act. It is evident that ballads were seen by this reviewer as more significant that the Continental music that had figured earlier in the concert.

Given such conflicting interests on the part of his audience, it is remarkable how much new concert music Rauzzini was able to introduce. Examination of the repertoire in appendix A reveals that he performed unspecified Beethoven symphonies from manuscript copies, and programmed the music of Mozart with some frequency. The overture to *Die Zauberflöte* had become an audience favorite, and was often repeated. Parts of Mozart's Requiem were also performed, although there is no record of Rauzzini's programming the entire work. Haydn's music continued have great popularity, even if Rauzzini appears at the end of his career to have been forced to restrict the number of different symphonies that he performed. The mention of a "new overture" by Weber in the January concerts of 1809 raises several questions. The newspapers do not give first names, so we are left to wonder if this Weber was Bedřich Diviš Weber (1766–1842), Edmund Weber (1766–1813), Franz Anton von Weber (1734–1812), or Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826). The music of Bedřich Diviš Weber was much influenced by his reverence for Mozart, and thus would seem to fit in with the general *gestalt* of Rauzzini's concerts in 1809. It is just possible, however, that the music performed by Rauzzini was from the pen of Carl Maria. A *Grande Overture à plusieurs instruments*, a reworking of the overture to Weber's early opera *Peter Schmal*, had been published in parts in 1807, and it is

possible that Rauzzini had obtained the publication. It would also have been possible for Rauzzini to have gained access to manuscript copies of Weber's two symphonies in C major, both of which had been completed by 1807.

That Rauzzini was able to mount Haydn's oratorio *The Seasons* less than two years after its premiere was a significant accomplishment for him. While he subsequently presented only excerpts from this work and from Haydn's *Creation*, he remained a strong proponent of that master's music until the end of his life. Equally remarkable are the number of works by other composers who were either established musicians of great repute such as Franz Krommer, Luigi Cherubini, and Paul Wranitsky or the *avant garde* of the day such as Beethoven and, possibly, Carl Maria von Weber. This demonstrates that Rauzzini took pains to remain acquainted with the most recent Continental musical tastes and fought to maintain a balance in his programming so that the musical standards did not deteriorate into merely popular entertainment.

The Era of Angelica Catalani

As was to be expected, new singers emerged during Rauzzini's last decade, who were added to the roster of established audience favorites such as Nancy Storace, John Braham, Maria Poole, and Jonathan Neild. Some of these singers had left Britain or retired from singing during this period. Nancy Storace continued to sing for Rauzzini until December 1808, when she retired from the stage, but her performances were not frequent. In 1806, a new soprano "superstar" appeared who created much excitement in London and who also had rather tumultuous experiences in Bath: Angelica Catalani (1780–1849). Catalani made a youthful debut in opera in 1797 in Venice and, in spite of having had little formal training, she quickly established herself as a favorite in cities such as Madrid, Lisbon, Naples, and Paris. Contemporary portraits reveal her to have been quite beautiful; she was often cited as being a fine actress, achieving success in both serious and comic roles. Catalani made her first appearance at the King's Theatre in 1806 in M. A. Portugal's *Semiramide*. Such was the advance notice of her fame that the house was completely full.[84] Later that season she sang in the same composer's *Il ritorno di Serse* and *La morte di Mitridate*, Mayr's *Che originali* (*Il fanatico per la musica*), and Nasolini's *La morte di Cleopatra*. Theodore Fenner records that critics were eager to compare Catalani's performance in *Il ritorno di Serse* with that of Mrs. Billington, whose performances of the opera had received rapturous applause.[85] One of Catalani's greatest successes came in the comic opera *Il Furbo contro il Furbo*, first heard in London on March 1, 1808. The review in the *Morning Chronicle* on March 2, 1808, noted that "the idea is taken from Le Sage's comedy of "*Crispin rival de son maitre*," and is adapted to the Italian Stage by Buonaicete, a man of real talents. The music was originally by Foravanti, but with considerable alterations by Ferrari, who has prepared it for the voice of Catalani. . . .

It was last night, most truly spiritual; each gesture and movement of the body, and every glance of her animated eye, had an expression at once seductive and graceful." In typical fashion, Catalani had made sure that the opera was retailored to present her in the best possible vocal light.

Catalani was well aware of her own worth and was reported to have charged £7,000 for a season of opera and £200 for a single concert appearance.[86] Although she had a strong work ethic, she could also be capricious. Catalani preferred to sing music that allowed her to show off her vocal abilities. As such, she did not appreciate operas by Mozart, which she considered to keep the singer too much under the control of the orchestra. She did, however, bend to popular demand and performed the roles of Susanna in *Le nozze di Figaro* and Vitellia in *La clemenza di Tito*.[87] Catalani's voice appears to have been equally remarkable for its size as its flexibility. On March 16, 1810, Margaret Chinnery claimed to be surprised by the singer's agility, and also noted the improvement in her general musicianship and a stronger lower vocal range.[88] Given her huge reputation and undeniable abilities, it should not surprise that Rauzzini was eager to have Catalani perform in Bath. Unfortunately, their association did not begin easily.

After Rauzzini reduced the number of subscription concerts from twelve to nine in the 1807–8 season, he apparently entered into an agreement with Catalani to promote and conduct two subscription concerts for her to be given on March 9 and 11, 1808. Newspaper advertisements state that she was to sing four works each night, and that the tenor Signor Righi, from the King's Theatre in London, would also sing, along with several of the regular performers from Rauzzini's subscription concerts. Rauzzini's name heads the advertisements, leading to the assumption that he was acting as promoter as well as the music director. The cost of the subscription for the two concerts was very high (£2 2s), two-thirds of what Rauzzini charged for his subscription series of nine concerts. For this amount subscribers were to receive four tickets, two of which were transferable to either ladies or gentlemen. Non-subscribers could purchase individual tickets at one guinea each. Catalani gave herself little time between engagements, as she took a late coach to Bath only the night before the scheduled first concert. Unfortunately, she fell ill during the journey and was in very bad voice by the next evening. The events of that concert were much reported in the press. The *Morning Chronicle*, March 12, 1808, related:

> Expectation was on the tiptoe; all the lovers of sweet sounds, eagerly anticipation the most delicious of all harmonious treats, thought every moment an age, when at half after seven, Mr. RAUZZINI entered, attended by Mr. BENNETT, and the latter addressed the audience as follows:—
>
> Ladies and Gentlemen—I am sorry to inform you, that Madame Catalani by travelling all night, has caught a severe cold, and is suffering under a dreadful hoarseness and sore throat; still as she is anxious to perform to the

best of her abilities, she will appear before you, but begs you will allow her to substitute other songs for those difficult ones mentioned in the bills.

Never did we witness so sudden a change in an audience—some thought they had been tricked by the conductor—others that it was one of those feints great performers occasionally practice, in order to make their exertions appear still the more wonderful; but their conjectures were soon set at rest; she entered the orchestra pale and languid, and attempted an easy air, which was transposed a third lower for her; but all was [in] vain, not the shadow of a note remained, and thus situated, the remainder of the Concert was performed as soon as possible, without applause, without attention—and the conductor made his bow amidst complaints and murmurs, "*not loud, but deep.*"

The *Bath Journal* recorded on March 14, 1808, that the song that Catalani had attempted was "Ah quanto l'anima," possibly the aria from Johann Simon Mayr's *Lodoiska* (1796), but that "her hoarseness seemed to increase every moment." Obviously, the experience was humiliating for the singer, but it was potentially devastating for Rauzzini. Given the other commitments in Bath involving the Upper Assembly Rooms, it was not possible to reschedule the second concert until March 30. To compensate for her inability to sing at the first concert, she agreed to sing a few songs on the morning of Thursday, March 31, 1808, according to the *Bath Journal* of March 21. In the interim, Catalani returned to London where she had other engagements, including performances at the King's Theatre.

The promised dates for the postponed Bath concerts proved to be unavailable. The *Bath Journal* announced on March 28 a revised schedule of an evening concert for March 31, and a morning recital on April 1. Given the multiple changes in arrangements, the subscription price was dropped to 25 shillings, still a considerable amount. Unfortunately, Catalani's illness did not abate, and Rauzzini was forced to publish the following release:

Mr. Rauzzini has made the following Notification to his Subscribers:—
Bath, Thursday Morning, March 31, 1808.
MADAME CATALNI'S CONCERTS

"It is with the most poignant concern Mr. Rauzzini is under the necessity of acquainting the subscribers to the above Concerts, that to his inexpressible surprise he received, at a late hour last night, by express, a letter written after the Opera on Tuesday, stating that Madame Catalani's cold had so much increased during that evening, as to render the fulfillment of her engagement to sing here this evening, and to-morrow evening totally impracticable, and to attempt which she conceives would be the most ungrateful return for the great generosity they have already shewn he, in so kindly acceding to the recent postponement.

"Under these afflictive circumstances, Mr. Rauzzini has no alternative but to throw himself upon the kindness of the Subscribers, and to hope, as the case is without precedent, he may, from the punctuality with which he has at all time fulfilled his engagements, humbly lay claim to their most favourable

> indulgence on this unfortunate occasion; and respectfully to acquaint them, that their subscriptions will be immediately returned on application to Mr. Stroud, at the Rooms."

Although she likely realized that her cancellation put Rauzzini in a difficult position, it was possibly the only thing that Catalani could have done. There is little doubt that she was genuinely ill, and had been for several weeks. The *Morning Chronicle* published an announcement on March 17, 1808, that she was withdrawing for reasons of illness from the benefit concert for the New Musical Fund in London. Catalani was announced for a performance at the King's Theatre on March 19, but she relapsed soon thereafter. She was not known for cancelling capriciously, and her stamina was quite remarkable: Fenner records that "she sang in all but four of the fifty-two performances" in 1808 at the King's Theatre.[89] One of her rare cancellations had been her own benefit, an evening that was not rescheduled until April 21.

For Rauzzini, however, the situation was near disastrous, given that he had curtailed his own season of concerts that been short on vocal glamour with the promise of one of the vocal luminaries of the era to follow. There was much speculation concerning the financial matters of the situation. The *Morning Chronicle* reported on March 31, 1808, that "she has requested him to pay all the charges, [and] also to return the subscribers their subscriptions, which amounts to a very large sum." A year later, this request was interpreted by the *Bath Journal* on January 30, 1809, as "her generous and disinterested conduct in returning back the money of the subscription of last year for the two concerts; notwithstanding the public has enjoyed one concert, and, for which she was entitled to keep back half of the subscription." Catalani may not have earned money from this unfortunate set of circumstances, but it appears that Rauzzini was likely left to pay for the orchestra and the assisting artists for the first concert. The situation was also a public relations disaster that may have required the efforts of his friend Miss Wroughton to massage. Rauzzini was treated to a long satirical drubbing in the *Bath Characters* of 1808 where he is called Resin and featured in a long dialogue in which some surprising allegations are made.[90] Amongst these is the suggestion that Rauzzini had advertised Catalani (who is called Madame Catsquali) for the March concerts merely as an advertising ploy to sell tickets. Rauzzini's anger with this characterization is easily understood as his integrity was questioned in print. His reliance upon Miss Wroughton (called Signora Rattana) is raised at one point: "But now that we're upon the subject of *musical discords*, do tell me, Resin, how the devil you ventured to *play* such a trick on the *amateurs* the other day, by humbugging them as you did about Madame *Catsquali?* I was too much *in for it* to be at the concert myself, but I am told if it hadn't been for your good friend Signora Rattana, who interfered on your behalf, the women would have served you the same trick that some viragoes of old played off upon your ancestor, master

Orpheus, and sent you home shorter by the head."[91] The final comments refer to Orpheus coming to a sticky end when the enraged women of Ciconia tore him to pieces in a Bacchic orgy (as referenced in Ovid's tale). While the threat of Rauzzini's being torn to shreds by the partisans of the "harmonic mania" in Bath creates a particularly striking image, had the author of the *Bath Characters* actually attended the first concert, he would have known that Catalani had appeared and tried to sing. Rauzzini had not perpetrated any kind of hoax.

Catalani was unable to negotiate a contract with the King's Theatre for the 1808–9 season as she demanded a fee that the management could not afford. She subsequently announced her intention of decamping to Bath. The *Morning Chronicle* reported on December 20, 1808, that "Madame CATALANI arrived at Bath last Thursday, where she has taken a house with the intention of remaining during the winter." Bath was only a base for her since she sang in various concerts in various parts of the country during the winter of 1809 before entering into an agreement with the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, that fall. Her huge salary and foreign background quickly turned audiences against her in that theatre, and John Philip Kemble was censured for having hired her. The theatre soon became the scene of much unrest as the "Old Price Riots" erupted,[92] and the public uproar was much commented upon in the press of the day.[93] Catalani spent a considerable amount of time in Scotland in early 1810, singing at Corri's concerts in Edinburgh and elsewhere. She was eventually reconciled with the King's Theatre and reappeared there late in March of 1810.

In the interim, and with Catalani close at hand, Rauzzini decided to present subscription concerts on February 1 and 7, 1809, featuring the celebrated singer. Although the price of the subscription for the two concerts remained unchanged from the previous year, subscribers actually got less for their money. Instead of four tickets, two of which would be transferable, subscribers got only two tickets in 1810, with no limits on transferability. For £1 3s, a subscriber could get a single, transferable ticket to both concerts. Furthermore, a ticket for each concert was available for one guinea. These were very high prices at a time when the nation was suffering the effects of the long war with France. Not surprisingly perhaps, the review in the *Bath Journal* on February 6, 1809, reported that the first concert was not as well attended as had been hoped. Matters changed for the second concert. The same newspaper reported on February 13, 1809, that there was an overflow audience and that Catalani's execution was brilliant: "we are lost in admiration." It is possible that the poor attendance at the first concert was the response of a wary audience who remembered the fiasco of the previous season. The Bath audience also had other opportunities to hear Catalani perform, as she was scheduled to undertake the performance of operatic scenes at the Bath Theatre the following week.

To have had Catalani in the country, but not performing at the King's Theatre in London, was much lamented by patrons of that theatre, but to have her

operatic performances in Bath trumpeted by the local press was a slap in the face for Londoners. The *Bath Chronicle* bragged on January 26, 1809, that "Bath has been aptly called the epitome of LONDON; but its musical riches the possession of CATALANI enables it now to outvie the metropolis. The amateurs languish; the Opera is *tolerated* in her absence; and the *Right Honorable parties* will be stript of half their attractions; while Bath is to be gratified by her exquisite performances." The paper continued that, since she would be resident in Bath, there would be no fear of her getting ill again while travelling. Indeed, it was exceptional that Italian opera would be presented at the Theatre Royal, Bath. Although English operas were performed in this theatre, these were in the nature of plays with songs. The brief season of opera appears to have been undertaken by Catalani herself rather than by the theatre, since the pricing was announced in the local newspapers under her name, and she was listed as the manager elsewhere.

Surviving playbills for the performances state "the whole of the operatic department [was] under the immediate direction of MR. RAUZZINI." That Rauzzini was the most eminently suited person in Bath to undertake this task for the theater is without doubt. This kind of musical activity was a significant step up from the performances of plays with incidental music and English operas that had previously been presented there. Either Catalani or Rauzzini must have realized that mounting complete operas in a theater where there was no such tradition, and where operatic singers were short at hand, would be difficult. Instead, selected scenes were presented from operas that showcased Catalani's talents. Four such evenings were presented, on February 14, 16, 22, and 24, 1809. The repertoire of operatic scenes that was performed in Bath mirrored much of which Catalani had sung in London. It included Portugal's *Semiramide* and *La morte di Mitridate*, Mayr's *Che originali* (*Il fanatico per la musica*), Fioravanti's *Il Furbo, contro il furbo*, and Paisiello's *Didone abbandonata*.[94] Catalani was supported in these scenes by Signor and Signora Miartani, as well as Mr. Bennett, Mary Ashe, and Madame O'Moran. Mary Ashe was cast in the male role of Aeneas in Paisiello's 1794 opera, probably because no castrato was available. Catalani also took the opportunity to perform in nearby locations, giving concerts in Bristol on February 20 and 27, according to the *Morning Chronicle* of February 7, 1809. Not surprisingly, the London newspapers were scathing in their comments about Catalani's defection to Bath. The *Morning Chronicle* reported on February 21, 1809, that "Madame Catalani's *Pasticcios*, at the Theatre, are dignified with the title of *Operas!* but the Citizens are by no means pleased with the London prices of admission, and the pit and galleries are empty. Madame Catalani is already sick of the character of manager." Such comments may have contributed to the bad reception accorded her at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden later that year. Once she came to terms with the King's Theatre, however, there was no need to repeat such potted operatic performances in Bath.

If the report in the *Bath Journal* on December 4, 1809, is accurate, Catalani had intended to spend time in Bath during the autumn of 1809:

> It is much to be regretted, that a number of families of fashion and fortune, who had settled to visit this city very early this season, from the circumstances of Madame Catalani, being engaged to perform at the theatre until Christmas, have been prevented from coming here, from the unfortunate circumstances of her being terrified from fulfilling her engagement, by the scandalous behaviour of a few profligate individuals, and the reports that the riots at Covent-Garden were transplanted to Bath.

This would have represented an economic blow to the city, if true.

One rather unfortunate event occurred during Rauzzini's final season of concerts in Bath. It had been his custom for many years to present Handel's *Messiah* on Christmas Eve as his annual benefit, though it is possible that the yearly event had lost some of it allure through repetition. The oratorio was also often presented at benefit concerts for charities in the city, so the Christmas Eve performances were hardly the only time when the citizens of Bath could hear the work. While the performances still attracted people from outlying areas for whom the excursion into Bath was likely a highlight of their year, Rauzzini appears to have understood the issues. By 1804 he was already compressing the oratorio into two acts, leaving out enough material so that an instrumental concerto could also be performed. He was increasingly reliant upon big-name soloists to attract his audience. By 1809, he no longer had the services of Nancy Storace or someone of the caliber of Madame Mara, and he was dependent upon John Braham for "star power." Unfortunately, Braham's commitments in Dublin did not allow him to get to Bath in time for December 24, and Rauzzini felt obliged to postpone his benefit until January 10, 1810, at which time a mixed instrumental and vocal concert was presented. Excerpts from *Messiah* were presented in the first half of the final concert of the season, but it is unfortunate that a final opportunity to conduct the full oratorio was denied him. He did not live to see another Christmas season.

This overview of the concert series in Bath reveals the many factors that could influence the success of presenting concerts in the late eighteenth century. Changes in social demographics, the emergence of wars and the jealousy of others within the musical community all created issues that needed to be addressed by Rauzzini. A salient aspect of his character is seen throughout his thirty years of sole management of the concerts: he did not give up in the face of adversity. Many might have withdrawn from concert management when they continued to lose money or were denigrated by antagonistic factions in the city. This was not in his nature. One is reminded of his comments made many years earlier to Pacchierotti when the latter suggested that he return to Italy for a while in 1780: "But he said to Me He had established here a Concert, & he must now endeavour to support it." There can be little doubt that Rauzzini lived up to his word, and supported the Bath concerts to his fullest ability, creating a monument to high standards and refined tastes.

Chapter Eight

Final Curtain

Rauzzini died at his home, 13 Gay Street, Bath, on April 8, 1810, in his sixty-third year. According to Mrs. Piozzi, Rauzzini did not own this house but rented it from Miss Wroughton.[1] Evidently, he was in some financial distress at the time: Mrs. Piozzi writes that Rauzzini was forced to borrow ten guineas from her so that the rent could be paid. She records that he thanked her "almost with Tears" in his eyes. She suggests that Miss Wroughton could have done more for Rauzzini in his hour of need, and records that he died in considerable distress. Appearances may well have been more important to Miss Wroughton than reality. Mrs. Piozzi writes that "She wore *Widow's Mourning* on the Death of poor Rauzzini!!!"[2]

The exact cause of his passing has not been established, although the *European Magazine* speaks of a "mortification, which began in his leg, and rapidly spread over his body."[3] Whether or not this was a thrombosis, leg injury, or ulcer that led to a blood infection is difficult to confirm at this late date. Moist gangrene is also associated with the term "mortification," and the resulting spread of toxins may have been so rapid that no surgical options were viable. The effects of gout would seem less likely to be the cause of Rauzzini's sudden death. While his final illness was brief and unexpected, it is possible that his general health had been declining for some time. The strain of thirty years preparing the Bath concerts, dealing with the vagaries of temperamental soloists (Catalani's name comes quickly to mind), and facing the ever-pressing financial worries attendant to running the subscription concerts may have undermined his general health.

A comparison of the engraving by Samuel Freeman (ca. 1806) with the miniature portrait by Hutchinson (ca. 1790–95) reveals a significant physical change and decline.[4] He would not have been considered young in 1810, but even by 1806 Rauzzini looks older than his years. His face is sunken, and has a haunted look. Mrs. Piozzi declared "Rauzzini but half alive" in her diary on September 14, 1806, after she had listed the passing of several family members and friends.[5] He had suffered from colds and other illnesses in 1808 and had been too ill to conduct the concert of January 11, 1809. After his final benefit

concert (January 10, 1810), the *Bath Journal* on January 15, 1810, took special pains to assure its readers of his good health, and removed two years from his age: "He is now in his sixty-first year of age; his faculties only in their youth." The true state of his physical health may well have been a different matter, however. While the reviewer for the *Bath Journal* reports that Rauzzini had never missed more than two concerts in his career and then only because of severe indisposition, this speaks more to the musician's dedication and determination than to the actual state of his general health at the time of writing.

Rauzzini was given a public funeral at the Bath Abbey. The *Bath Journal* recorded on April 16, 1810, that the city had not "witnessed a funeral so well attended since the days of Nash." There are no records in the Bath Abbey to suggest that Rauzzini had ever converted to Anglicanism. The same paper reported that arrangements were underway for a performance of Rauzzini's Requiem Mass at the Catholic Chapel in Bath.[6] Nancy Storace and John Braham paid to have a memorial tablet placed in the Abbey, though it is not easy to find, being tucked away in a corner of the building on the far right hand side of the entry doors. The text of the tablet follows:

> Near this place rest the remains of VENANZIO RAUZZINI, Native of ROME, distinguished as a vocal performer on the Continent and in England, whose judicious abilities for thirty years in conducting the musical department of this city amply gratified the applauding public, and whose ever gracious deportment conciliated their zealous affection. This tributary Memorial was erected by his affectionate pupils ANNA SELINA STORACE and JOHN BRAHAM, prompted by their friendship and grateful respect for professional merit and liberality of sentiment. *He died April 8th 1810, aged 62.*

The obituary notices were effusive in their praise of Rauzzini. On April 12, 1810, the *Bath Chronicle* claimed: "In private life few men were more esteemed; none more generally beloved. A polished suavity of manners, a mild and cheerful disposition, and a copious fund of general and polite information, rendered him an attractive and agreeable companion." *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* reported on April 19, 1810, that Rauzzini had been "eminent for music science, and generally and deservedly esteemed." The *Bath Herald* commented on April 14, 1810, on his great warmth of personality and copious hospitality.

By 1810, Rauzzini was largely viewed as a composer, concert director and singing teacher; his own singing career appears to have been largely forgotten. His vocal compositions continued to be useful for concert purposes throughout the nation. For the average citizen of Bath, however, it seems that Rauzzini was most readily identified with the subscription concerts during the winter months and at Easter. With his passing, the question that was likely on many minds was whether these concerts could survive without him, given that so many of the great artists who had performed there did so because of their respect for Rauzzini. When Andrew Ashe took over the management

of the concerts, he published an address in the various Bath newspapers in October 1810 in which he commented upon the unique situation enjoyed by Rauzzini in his ability to access resources not available to others. Ashe concluded that he would have had to significantly raise the cost of ticket prices had not Catalani, Harrison, Barthelemon [?James Bartleman], and others reduced their usual fees.[7]

Estate and Music Library

During his thirty-plus years in Bath, Rauzzini accumulated a considerable estate. Having no immediate family on which to spend money, he collected possessions of quality, including fine art and furnishings. This does not necessarily contradict the various reports of his concerts losing money. His principal income in his later years came apparently from teaching and the sale of his published music. The concerts needed to make money—Rauzzini could not afford to run them as a charity venture—but he could not have counted on them to provide his livelihood. After his death, his estate was valued at £2,000, a considerable sum in 1810. The administration of the estate was granted to Ferdinand Becker (1739–1825),[8] who appears to be the topographical draughtsman and artist who produced *Etchings after Nature* (ca. 1821). Becker was a resident of Bath and presumably was someone whom Rauzzini trusted. When Becker exhibited landscapes at the British Institution in 1810, he gave his address as 13 Gay Street, Bath, Rauzzini's former abode.[9] Becker arranged for Rauzzini's belongings to be sold at auction from 13 Gay Street from July 2–5, 1810. On June 23, the *Bath Herald* listed household furniture, china and silverware, valuable jewelry, clocks, lamps, two square pianos, a considerable quantity of art, and even linens and clothing. Excluded from this sale was Rauzzini's library, which was sold separately.

Unfortunately, no detailed catalogue of Rauzzini's library appears to have been prepared for this sale. A brief description was published on December 22, 1810, in the *Bath Herald*, stating that the library contained more than 1,800 volumes of "History, Biography, Antiquities, Voyages, Travels, Natural History, Arts and Sciences, Poetry, Plays, Novels, etc." One assumes from this list that Rauzzini was well read. It is surprising, however, that there is no mention of his music collection. Although two smaller pianos had been included in the earlier sale, Rauzzini's prized grand piano and an "elegant" pedal harp were reserved for the library sale.

Fortunately, a more detailed catalogue of Rauzzini's music library was prepared for the auction undertaken by James Christie II in London on March 6–7, 1811. The auction produced just under £196, surely a disappointing return on such a valuable collection. The surviving auction catalogue not only lists the contents of the sale but also the last names of the purchasers

and the amounts paid.[10] As with many such auction catalogues, this one raises as many questions as it answers. Unfortunately, the listing of items in the collection is sometimes vague: Item 79: "Eight scores, Rauzzini"; Item 228: "A MS. Opera in Score." No publishers are listed, and it is not usually possible to identify the purchasers since only last names are given in the catalogue entries. The degree to which this auction catalogue represents Rauzzini's collection at the time of his death must be questioned. There are many known compositions published by Rauzzini that do not appear to be listed, thus giving some credence to the assumption that some of his music had been sold in Bath along with the rest of his library.

The title page of the catalogue lists what was thought to be the works of greatest general interest for purchasers: "*Very Valuable Copy-right of an Original Composition*, A REQUIEM, By the late Mr. RAUZZINI, WITH THE VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL PARTS COMPLETE; *And the Copy-right Score and Parts* OF A Favorite CANTATA, the SORPRESA." The cantata *La sorpresa* had first been heard in 1779 in London (see chapter 4), a large-scale dramatic work for three singers that had not been published except for a march arranged for piano solo. A revised version of the cantata had been undertaken, in 1805 featuring Mrs. Billington as the soprano soloist; both versions were listed in the auction catalogue. Although the copyright for both the cantata and Rauzzini's Requiem Mass were offered along with their manuscripts, neither work resulted in a bidding war. Ultimately, both were sold to a Mr. Becker (presumably Ferdinand Becker) for a total of £20 10d. Works of potentially greater interest today, such as the full scores for the operas *Le ali d'Amore*, *L'eroe cinese*, *La regina di Golconda*, and *La vestale*, were sold for less than £10, and some for as little as £2. Unfortunately, most of this music can no longer be found.

Twenty-five lots of vocal music by Rauzzini and other composers constituted the first part of the auction, although a collection of Bath Concert Bills for "50 years past" was also included in this lot (no. 4). It is much to be regretted that this collection has not survived, leaving only a handful of Bath concert bills from the eighteenth century extant. This lot was followed by "Quintetts and Quartets, Instrumental" and "Overtures and Symphonies," twenty-five lots, in total. Included in this part of the library were quintets by Haydn, including symphonies arranged for five instruments. The latter may have been the arrangements of some of Haydn's "London" symphonies made by Johann Peter Salomon, the man responsible for bringing Haydn to London in 1791. String quartets by Haydn are also listed in the catalogue, but the opus numbers for three of the sets (op. 10, 16, and 18) do not conform to modern usage. Of greater interest, perhaps, are the lists of symphonies and overtures. Once again, the editions are not named and the numbering is uncertain—Symphony no. 73, "La Chasse," is listed in the catalogue as "No. 7." A variety of symphonies by Mozart are listed: so-called Opus 6, 9, and 64, as well as works in D and E flat, but these are not possible to identify from the catalogue descriptions.

The overtures to *Die Zauberflöte* and *La clemenza di Tito* are mentioned, as is the score for Mozart's Requiem. Rauzzini's library was obviously compiled over a period of years. Earlier works, such as overtures by Philidor and Stamitz, are listed, as well as later compositions such as symphonies by Beethoven.

The next part of the auction catalogue consists of thirty-five lots of keyboard music, treatises on singing, piano-vocal scores of English operas, various Italian vocal airs, and sundry English glees and songs. The final part of the first day of the sale was given over to the music of Handel. This part of the collection appears to have been much anticipated by the buyers as much of it was purchased. Given the amount of music by Handel that Rauzzini had programmed over the years, it is not surprising that his library contained the principal oratorios, odes, anthems, concertos, and keyboard music. Only two operas are listed, *Giulio Cesare* and *Sosarme*. One of the more frequent buyers in this part of the auction is given as "Ashe." This person was likely the flautist Andrew Ashe, who took over the leadership of the concerts following Rauzzini's death. The need to expand his own library following his assumption of those concerts must have been pressing if he was going to maintain the same level of diversity in his offerings as had Rauzzini.

The sale continued on the following day (March 7, 1811), with "Italian Vocal" music. Although much of this lot contains the expected canzoni, duets, and arias, there were also operas by Sarti and Piccinni, as well as oratorios, including Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *The Creation* and *The Seasons*. It is likely that Rauzzini had used many of the Italian vocal pieces as teaching materials in addition to featuring them in his concerts. There followed a small lot of eleven works of sacred music categorized as "Ancient." The composers here included Dahmen, Allegri, Jomelli, and Palestrina. The final two lots in the auction were supposed to consist only of music by Rauzzini. The first was unpublished music. This lot of eleven items contained some titles that are familiar from newspaper reviews and concert listings, but which are otherwise lost. There are several arias named, as well as the cantata *Il ratto d'Anfirite*, and the *Ode for the Pauper Charity*. Two works may have been published: the "Duettino Notturno" may be the same piece that was published in Rauzzini's *Periodical Collection of Vocal Music*,[11] and the aria from "Jervis and Duncan: or the Year Ninety-Seven" had been published in piano reduction. Surprisingly, the vocal and instrumental parts for Kroll's "Grand Battle Piece" are included in this part of the sale, even though the entry reads: "the Score in the possession of Lady Nelson." Presumably whoever packaged the music for the sale did not realize that "The Grand Battle Piece" was not by Rauzzini. Although the next part of the sale catalogue promised published work by Rauzzini, there are "Sketches of Operas and different compositions" that would most likely have been in manuscript. Indeed, the organization of Rauzzini's library for sale purposes appears to have flummoxed the person in charge for one of the items in this lot is "A miscellaneous parcel, Rauzzini and others."

The sale catalogue does give some indication of the depth and breadth of Rauzzini's music library, although it does not answer some of the most pressing questions. As noted in earlier chapters, the music assigned to Rauzzini's op. 10 and op. 11 remains unaccounted for, with op. 14 being conjectural; unfortunately, the sale catalogue does not supply answers. There are also pieces that one would have expected to find listed in this catalogue, such as Rauzzini's published sonatas and the cantata version of his *Piramo e Tisbe*. It would seem unlikely that Rauzzini would not have retained a copy of the later when it had been one of his most popular compositions. Such omissions give further credence to the conjecture mentioned above of a prior sale of music in Bath.

A Life in Music

There can be little doubt that Rauzzini enjoyed a remarkable and fulfilling, multi-faceted career as a singer, composer, and concert director. The implications of this varied career are considerable. His singing was constantly praised for its taste, acute sense of pitch, and underlying scientific knowledge of music. He was hampered by a voice that was not quite big enough for the largest theatres, something that may have brought his operatic career to a conclusion earlier than might otherwise have been expected. Had Rauzzini returned to the Continent after his three years as the *primo uomo* at the King's Theatre, it is likely that he could have extended his singing career by choosing his engagements carefully. With only one theatre in London presenting Italian opera, the decision to remain in Britain limited his performance opportunities on the one hand, while on the other allowing him to explore other career opportunities in music.

It is unfortunate that Rauzzini's compositions are little known today when there is so much attractive music that would be useful for both teaching and concert performance. The string quartets are worthy of modern performance, and the numerous sonatas for keyboard and violin accompaniment can be easily arranged to distribute the musical materials more evenly between the two performers. Rauzzini's songs, especially the later ones, reveal many beauties, and have fully developed keyboard parts. With *Piramo e Tisbe* his only opera to survive complete, it may never be possible to fully assess his operatic output. That said, the surviving music reveals a sure compositional hand and a thorough understanding of writing for voice and orchestra. Both the *Omaggio* and *La regina di Golconda* borrowed from the French traditions of *opéra-ballet*, a genre to which Rauzzini could have made significant contributions had British audiences proved to be more receptive. While the audiences at the King's Theatre obviously appreciated the skill of the French dancers hired there, they rebelled at the thought of the other French arts being forced on them, especially at a time when the two countries were at war. Here, the long-standing

political and social issues that had divided the two countries appear to have intruded on any true appreciation of Rauzzini's skills as an operatic composer. He may not have been able to compete in the area of the most vigorous and highly dramatic music for serious operas but his skills in the pastoral genres and dance should have permitted a higher profile in the London repertoire than he actually achieved.

Although his critics found it expedient to denigrate some of his later operas with the epithet of "French," there would appear to be little true French influence in them. Critics and audiences apparently failed to realize that Rauzzini's primary operatic influence was the music of Gluck, and not music by French composers. Sacchini's operas, a likely influence, were well known to Rauzzini, the operatic singer. Unfortunately, the controversy that arose when the London newspapers suggested that Rauzzini had ghost-written parts of Sacchini's recent operas resulted in a segment of the London audience turning their backs on Rauzzini. In particular, the *Public Advertiser* in 1784 set about to accuse Rauzzini of musical plagiarisms and a lack of taste at the time of the performances of *La regina di Golconda*. It is also likely that Rauzzini's compositions were viewed as being outside of the norm, just as Rauzzini himself, as a castrato, did not fit standard definitions of masculinity. If the eighteenth century could not seemingly accept the concept of female composers, a castrated male composer was similarly suspect. As observed in chapter 3, the *Westminster Magazine* had made an unflattering comparison of Rauzzini's music with that of Traetta, finding the latter's works to be more "manly." The comment made by the critic of the *Public Advertiser* that the music of *La regina di Golconda* was "barbarous dullness" appears to follow the same trend. It is unfortunate that so many vexed situations, including the problematic management of the King's Theatre, the Rauzzini-Sacchini debate, and the negative perceptions about castrati at the end of the eighteenth century, all combined to prevent any contemporary objective assessment of his operas.

Perhaps Rauzzini's most lasting contributions to British musical life were his teaching of a generation of leading soloists and his development of the Bath concerts. As a teacher, he married the best of the Italian school of singing with that of the British tradition. His abilities in this area were clearly recognized within his lifetime. The anonymous "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini" record that Rauzzini had "become the father of a new style in English singing, and a new race of singers, who have naturalized, to an English ear, the florid song and ornamental style of the Italians."[12]

Rauzzini developed the Bath concerts into a prestigious series where the finest vocal and instrumental soloists were heard in surroundings of great splendour. The concerts became an integral part of the complex social fabric of the "Bath season" and did much to encourage the continued patronage of the influential influx of visitors to the city each winter. Rauzzini steadfastly gave his support to the concert series. The crisis of 1795 was exceptional, but

Rauzzini resumed full responsibility for the concerts once the series had been put on a firmer financial footing. He gave some of the earliest performances in Britain of oratorios by Haydn, performed Beethoven symphonies from manuscript copies, and continued to present the most recent Continental composers, all achievements that say much about his progressive attitudes and forward thinking. That he was able to accomplish this in spite of the resentments that arose from certain factions in the community, especially during the darkest days of the war with France, demonstrates his ability to assess and respond to his audience. The changing social and political demographics of Britain at the end of the eighteenth century affected not only how concert music was perceived by its audience but also what music should be performed and by whom. Rauzzini's ability to construct programs that appealed to those who wanted ballads and glees in English, while at the same time presenting concert music of great value from the era of Handel up to the most contemporary Continental music, is a testament to his perception and his organizational skills.

Finally, Rauzzini clearly demonstrated that a castrato could still be an effective leader by offering encouragement to many musicians and providing performance opportunities for many young people at the beginning of their careers. His unflagging energies and dedication to the Bath concerts raised musical standards in that city, and encouraged the development of musical tastes. His is a career truly worthy of remembrance and celebration.

Appendix A

Concert Programs

1786–1810

The following list of concert programs has been compiled from the advertisements in the *Bath Journal*, the *Bath Chronicle*, and the *Bath Herald*, in addition to concert reviews and surviving handbills. It is not complete, as the surviving newspaper runs have missing copies, and some concerts were not advertised in full. The printed concert handbills are likely the most authoritative sources, but few of these have survived. Typical of newspaper advertisements of the period, compositions were usually not identified by name. As a result, the composer of a symphony, overture, concerto, or song might be given, along with the performer's name, but not the actual title of the music. As frustrating as this can be, it is indicative of an audience base as much interested in the performers as in the music to be performed. The following sigla have been used to identify the sources: * for the *Bath Journal*, ** for the *Bath Chronicle*, and *** for the *Bath Herald*. The locations for surviving handbills have been provided.

The concert reviews are often useful for filling in the titles of the music performed. Comparing the reviews and surviving handbills with the newspaper advertisements also reveals that what was actually performed often differed from the advertisements, as soloists took ill suddenly, or were otherwise prevented from performing. The following lists present the composer's name first, when known, and the performer's name given last, in parentheses. The title of the work performed has been standardized from the various sources, with any editorial additions shown in square brackets. Throughout, the references to Mr. Herschel (cellist) are to Alexander Herschel, who was the leading cellist in Bath for forty-five years.[1]

1786–87 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 15, 1786, and January 24, 1787—"One Act to consist of Antient, and the other of Modern

Music." Subscription costs: 1 guinea; non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 6:30 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Ann] Cantelo, [Marie] Chanu [Mrs. Pieltain in the 1787 listings], [Maria] Poole, [Charles] Incledon, and Rauzzini.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Dieudonné] Pascal Pieltain (violin), [Tebaldo] Monzani (flute), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Johann] Cramer, Jr. (piano), and [Josiah] Ashley (oboe).

*November 15, 1786**

A change in the programming proved to be necessary for the opening concert of the series as Princess Amelia had died just over a week earlier. The *Bath Chronicle* (November 9, 1786) reported that Rauzzini included Handel's Funeral Anthem "The Ways of Zion do Mourn" and the "Dead March" from *Saul* in the program.

Act 1: Haydn: The "Chace" [Symphony no. 73 in D major]; Sacchini: Song (Poole); Flute Concerto (Monzani); Prati: Rondo (Chanu); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Guglielmi: Song (Cantello); Mozart: Piano Concerto (Cramer).

Act 2: Handel: *Esther*, Overture; The Funeral Anthem as it was performed at Westminster Abbey; *Saul*, "Dead March"; [*Acis and Galatea*], "Hush, ye pretty warbling quire" (Chanu); [*Jephtha*], Chorus, "Cherub and Seraphim"; [*Radamisto*], "Cara sposo amato bene" (Cantelo); Coronation Anthem: *Zadok the Priest.*

*November 22, 1786**

Act 1: [J. C.] Bach: Overture (double orchestra); Rauzzini: Song (Poole); Flute Concerto (Monzani); Sarti: Rondo (Chanu); Kozeluck: Piano Concerto (Cramer); Mortellari: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: *Saul*, Overture & Chorus, "How excellent thy Name"; *Samson*, "Total eclipse" (Incledon); [*Riccardo*], "Caro vieni a me" (Chanu); Coronation Anthem [4]: "My heart is inditing"; [*The Triumph of Time and Truth*], "Pleasure my former ways rising" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*November 29, 1786**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Hook: "Ma chère amie" (Incledon, "by Desire"); Kozeluck: Piano Concerto (Cramer); Sacchini: Song (Chanu); Flute Concerto (Monzani); Martini: Rondo (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Alexander's Feast*, Chorus, "The many shall rend the skies"; *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato*, "Let me wander unseen" (Poole); 2nd Organ Concerto (Wasbrough); *Alexander Balus*, "Here amid the shady Wwoods" (Chanu); Coronation Anthem, "The King shall Rejoice"; *Sosarme*, "Rendi sereno al ciglio" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever."

*December 6, 1786**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Anfossi: Song (Poole); Flute Concerto (Monzani); Relfe: "Mary's Dream" (Chanu); Clementi: piano duet (Wasbrough & Cramer); Rauzzini: Rondo (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture; The Funeral Anthem as it was performed at Westminster Abbey ("by Desire"); *Saul*, "Dead March"; Song (Chanu); *Esther*, "He comes, he comes to end our woes"; [*Theodora*], "Angels ever bright and fair" (Cantelo); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Sing unto God."

*December 20, 1786**

Act 1: Paisiello: Overture; Sacchini: Song (Poole); Solo Cello (Herschel); Salieri: Song (Chanu); Kloffler: Piano Concerto (Cramer); Guglielmi: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: Grand Oboe Concerto; *Saul*, Chorus, "Gird on thy sword"; Song (Chanu); *Joseph*, Duet (Cantelo & Poole); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; Song (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "The Lord shall reign forever and ever" ("by Desire").

*January 3, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Sacchini: Song (Poole); Fischer: Oboe Concerto (Ashley); Bertoni: Rondo (Pieltain); Schroeter: Piano Concerto (Cramer); Martini: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: *Joshua*, Overture & Chorus, "Ye sons of Israel"; *Samson*, "Why does the God of Israel sleep?" (Incledon), "Ye men of Gaza" (Poole), Chorus, "Fixt in his everlasting throne"; Organ Concerto (Wasbrough); *Radamisto*, "Cara sposo" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*January 17, 1787***

Act 1: [Haydn?]: Overture; Hook: "Ma chère amie" (Incledon, "by Desire"); Fischer: Oboe Concerto (Ashley); Sacchini: Song (Poole); Kozeluck:

Piano Concerto (Cramer); Rauzzini: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "O Father, whose Almighty power"; Song (Poole); *Acis and Galatea*, Terzetto, "The flocks shall leave the mountain"; *Jephtha* [?*Esther*], Chorus, "He comes, [he comes to end our woes]"; Organ Concerto (Wasbrough); Song (Cantelo); *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

*January 24, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Sacchini: Song (Poole); Kozeluck: Piano Concerto (Cramer); Rauzzini: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Rauzzini: Terzetto (Cantelo, Incledon, & Rauzzini).

Act 2: Handel: 2nd Oboe Concerto; *Alexander's Feast*, Chorus, "The many shall rend the skies"; Song (Poole); The Funeral Anthem ("by Particular Desire"); *Saul*, "Dead March"; Song (Cantelo); *Messiah*, Choruses, "Worthy is the Lamb" & "Amen."

1787–88 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 7, 1787, and January 23, 1788—"One Act to consist of ANTIENT, and the other of MODERN MUSIC." Subscription costs: 1 guinea; non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 6:30 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Ann] Cantelo, [Marie] Pieltain, [Charles] Incledon, and Rauzzini. [Gertrud Elizabeth] Mara appeared on December 5.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Diedonné Pascal] Pieltain (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), Master Wasbrough (organ), and [Jane] Guest (piano).

*November 7, 1787**

Act 1: Rauzzini: Overture; [J. C.] Bach: Oboe Quartet (Ashley); Sarti: Song (M. Pieltain); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Paisiello: Song (Cantelo); Vogler: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Atholia* [*Athalia*], "Blooming virgins" (Incledon); *Athalia*, Chorus, "The rising world Jehovah crown'd"; 12th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, "Guardian angels" (M. Pieltain); *Jubilate*, Chorus, "Gloria Patri"; *Solomon*, "What tho' I trace each herb and flower" (Cantelo); Coronation Anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

*November 14, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Clarinet Concerto (Rossi); Salieri: Song (M. Pieltain); Kozeluck: Piano Concerto (Guest); Rauzzini: Rondo (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture; [Chandos Anthem no. 8] "O come let us worship" (Incledon); *Jephtha*, Chorus, "Cherub and Seraphim"; *Radamisto*, "Caro vieni a me" (Pieltain); The Funeral Anthem as it was performed at Westminster Abbey; *Saul*, "Dead March"; *Israel in Egypt*, "Every day will I give thanks" (Cantelo), Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*November 21, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Cello Solo (Herschel); Sarti: Song (M. Pieltain); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Mozart: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Esther*, Overture; *Samson*, "Total eclipse" (Incledon), Chorus, "O first created beam"; *Acis and Galatea*, "Hush ye pretty warbling quire" (M. Pieltain); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "The Lord shall reign forever and ever"; 5th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *Radamisto*, "Caro sposa" (Cantelo); *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

*November 28, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: The "Chace" [Symphony no. 73 in D major]; Fischer: Oboe Concerto (Ashley); Sarti: Song (M. Pieltain); Piano Concerto (Guest); Martini: Rondo (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: Grand Hautboy Concerto; *Samson*, "Why does the God of Israel sleep" (Incledon); *Saul*, Chorus, "Gird on thy sword," "O God-like youth" (M. Pieltain); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; 4th Organ Concerto (Wasbrough); *Jephtha*, "Ye sacred priests" (Cantelo); *Messiah*, Choruses, "Worthy is the Lamb" & "Amen."

*December 5, 1787**

Act 1: Stamitz: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (M. Pieltain); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Rauzzini: Rondo (Cantelo); Vogler: Piano Concerto (? Guest); Rusti: Song (Mara).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture ("by Particular Desire"); [Chandos Anthem no. 8], "O come let us worship" (Incledon); *Messiah*, Chorus, "For unto us a Child is born"; *Solomon*, "What tho' I trace each herb" (Cantelo); *Joshua*, Chorus, "Ye Sons of Israel"; The 12th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *Judas Maccabeus*, "Pious orgies" (Mara); Coronation Anthem: "Zadok the Priest."

*December 19, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Cello solo (Herschel); Bianchi: Song (M. Pieltain); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Sarti: Rondo (Cantelo); Vogler: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Samson*, Overture; *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "O Father, whose almighty power"; *Athalia*, "Blooming virgins" (Incledon), Chorus, "The rising world"; The 1st Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, "Restore my former ways" (Cantelo); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Sing unto God."

*December 26, 1787**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Fischer: Oboe Concerto (Ashley); Sarti: Song (M. Pieltain); Mozart: Piano Concerto (Guest); Rauzzini: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Pieltain).

Act 2: Handel: *Saul*, Overture; *Samson*, Chorus, "Fix'd in his everlasting seat"; *Acis and Galatea*, Song (Pieltain), Chorus, "O the pleasure of the plains"; Corelli: 8th [Concerto Grosso]; Handel: *Acis and Galatea*, "Heart the seat of soft delight" (Cantelo); Coronation Anthem: "The King shall rejoice."

*January 23, 1788**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; [J. C.] Bach: Song (Pieltain); Violin Concerto (Pieltain); Sarti: Rondo (Cantelo); [J. C.] Bach: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Messiah*, "Comfort ye" & Chorus, "And the Glory of the Lord"; *Richard* [*Riccardo Primo*], "Caro vieni a me" (M. Pieltain); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; The 4th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *Rodelinda*, "Dove sei" (Cantelo); *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallejuah."

1788–89 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 5, 1788, and January 28, 1789—"One Act to consist of ANTIENT, and the other of MODERN MUSIC." Subscription costs: 1 guinea; non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 6:30 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Ann] Cantelo, Charles Incledon, Master Taylor, and "The justly celebrated Mr. [Samuel] Harrison, from London."

Principal Instrumental Performers: [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), Mr. Florio (flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Master Wasbrough (organ), and [Jane] Guest (piano).

*November 5, 1788**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Paxton: Song (Incledon); Flute Concerto (Florio); Rauzzini: Rondo (Cantelo); Vanhal: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Athalia*, Chorus, "The mighty power"; *Acis and Galatea*, "Consider fond shepherd" (Taylor); *Israel in Egypt*, Duet, "The Lord is a man of war" (Russell & James Mahon "from Oxford"); 4th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *Athalia*, "Gentle airs, melodious strains" (Cantelo); Coronation Anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

*November 12, 1788**

Act 1: Rauzzini: Overture; [J. C.] Bach: Quintet for violin, flute, oboe, viola, & cello (Brooks, Florio, Ashley, Rogers Jr., & Herschel); Relfe: "Mary's Dream" (Taylor, "by Desire"); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Hummel: Horn Quintet (Master Hummel); Guglielmo: Song (Cantelo); Vogler: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture; *Theodora*, Chorus, "He saw the lovely youth"; Song; Chandos Anthem, "Every day will I give thanks" (Incledon); 4th Oboe Concerto; *Solomon*, "What tho' I trace each herb and flower" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*November 19, 1788**

Act 1: [J. C.] Bach: Overture for Double Orchestra; Song (Incledon); Pleyel: Quartetto; Rauzzini: Rondo (Cantelo); Flute Concerto (Florio); Song (Harrison); Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Esther*, Overture; *Jephtha*, Chorus, "When his loud voice"; *Acis and Galatea*, "Would you gain the tender creature" (Taylor); 5th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *Samson*, "Total eclipse" (Harrison); *Theodora*, "Angels ever bright and fair" (?Cantelo); *Joseph*, Chorus, "Blest be the Man."

*November 26, 1788**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Jackson: Song (Incledon); Pleyel: Quartetto; Sarti: Rondo (Cantelo); Bassoon Concerto (Rungstock); Sarti: Song (Harrison); Kozeluck: Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Ptolomy* [*Tolomeo*], Overture; *Saul*, Chorus, "Gird on thy sword"; *Messiah*, "But thou didst not leave" (Taylor); Ricciotti: 5th Concerto; Handel: *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Harrison); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; *Semele*, "O sleep" (Cantelo); Coronation Anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

*December 10, 1788**

Act 1: [J. C.] Bach: Overture for Double Orchestra; Song: "Gramachree Molly" (Taylor); Haydn: Quartetto; Bianchi: Song (Cantelo); Flute Concerto (Florio); [J. C.] Bach: Piano Concerto (Guest); Anfossi: Duet (Cantelo & Harrison).

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture ("by Desire"); *Athalia*, "Blooming virgins" (Incledon), Song & Chorus, "Tyrants would in impious throng"; Geminiani: Violin Concerto (Brooks); Handel: [Chandos Anthem no. 8], "O come let us worship" (Harrison); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "O Father, whose almighty power"; *Athalia*, "Gentle airs, melodious strains" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "The Lord shall reign for even and ever."

*December 17, 1788**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Jackson: Song (Incledon); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Martini: Rondo (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Webbe: "The Mansion of Peace" (Harrison, "by Desire"); Piano Concerto (Guest); Sacchini: Duet (Cantelo & Harrison).

Act 2: Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; *Jephtha*, Chorus, "Cherubs and Seraphims"; *Alexander's Feast*, "Softly sweet in Lidian measure" (Master Taylor); Ricciotti: Grand Concerto; Handel: *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato*, "Oft on a plat of rising ground" (Harrison); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Mourn, ye afflicted children"; *Susanna*, "Chastity thou cherub" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*December 31, 1788**

Act 1: Rauzzini: Overture; Song, "Gramachree Molly" (Master Taylor, "by Desire"); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Sarti: Rondo (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Song, "Ciccio di Maio" (Harrison); Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Samson*, Chorus, "Fixed in [His] everlasting seat," "Why does the God of Israel sleep" (Incledon); Corelli: 8th Concerto [Grosso]; Handel: *Samson*, Duet, "My Faith and Truth" (Cantelo & Master Taylor), Chandos Anthem 11a, Chorus, "As thy rebuke, O God"; *Samson*, "Thus, when the Sun from wat'ry bed" (Harrison); Coronation Anthem no. 3, "The King shall rejoice."

*January 28, 1789***

Act 1: Haydn: The "Chace" [Symphony no. 73 in D major]; New Song (Incledon & Guest); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Paisiello: Song (Cantelo); Piano Concerto (Guest).

Act 2: Handel: *Ptolomy* [*Tolomeo*], Overture; *Esther*, Chorus, "He comes"; *Judas Maccabeus*, "Arm, arm ye brave" (James Mahon); Corelli: Violin Concerto (Brooks); Handel: *Samson*, Chorus, "To Song and Dance"; *Siroe*, "Non vi piacque" (Cantelo); *Messiah*, Chorus, "Worthy is the Lamb."

1789–90 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 11, 1789, and January 12, 1790: "One Act to consist of ANTIENT, and the other of MODERN MUSIC." Subscription costs: 1 guinea and a half for gentlemen; 1 guinea for ladies. Non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 6:30 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Ann] Cantelo, Miss Mahon [Charles] Incledon, Master Taylor, [James] Mahon, and [Samuel] Harrison.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), Mr. Wasbrough (organ), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 11, 1789**

Act 1: Haydn: New Overture; Rauzzini: "The Adieu" (Incledon); Song (? & Mahon); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Sarti: Song (Cantelo); Stevens: Glee, "Sigh no more Ladies" (?); Haydn: Piano Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Jephtha*, Chorus, "Cherub and Seraphim"; Song (Incledon); *Samson*, Chorus, "Hear Jacob's God"; Geminiani: Concerto [Grosso]; Handel: Chandos Anthem, "O Magnify the Lord" (Cantelo); *Samson*, Double Chorus, "From the censor."

*November 18, 1789**

Act 1: Pleyel: New Overture; Giordani: Song (Taylor); S[c]huster: Song (? Mahon); Stamitz: [Symphony], Concertante for Oboe & Bassoon (Ashley & Holmes); [J. C.] Bach: Song (Cantelo; "by Desire will be repeated"); Stevens: Glee, "Sigh no more Ladies" (?); Kozeluck: Piano Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; *Jephtha*, Chorus, "When his loud voice"; *Acis and Galatea*, "Love in her eyes" (Incledon); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "O Father, whose Almighty power"; *Alexander's Feast*, "The Prince unable" (Miss Mahon); Martini: Concerto. Handel, *Jephtha*, "Farewell ye limpid springs" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*November 25, 1789**

Act 1: Haydn: New Overture; Jackson: Song (Incledon); Stamitz: Quartet (Mahon, Holmes, Rogers & Herschel); Cimarosa: Song (Cantelo); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Porotti: Song (Harrison); Vanhal: Piano Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Handel: *Joshua*, Overture, Chorus, "Ye sons of Israel"; Song (Master Taylor); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; *Athalia*, "Gentle airs" (Harrison); Corelli: 12th Concerto [Grosso]; Handel: *Israel in Egypt*, "Thou didst blow" (Cantelo), Chorus, "The Lord shall reign forever."

*December 2, 1789**

Act 1: Pleyel: Overture; Rauzzini: Song, "O Cynthia" (Incledon); Cimarosa: Song (Cantelo); Stamitz: Duet for Violin & Cello (Brooks & Herschel); Danby: "Stay silver moon" (Harrison); Mozart: Piano Concerto (Miles); Sarti: Duetto (Harrison & Cantelo).

Act 2: Handel: 5th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; *Acis and Galatea*, Song, "Consider fond shepherd" (Master Taylor); *Alexander's Feast*, Chorus, "The many rend the Skies"; *Sosarme*, "Rend'il sereno al Ciglio" (Harrison); Geminiani: Concerto [Grosso]; Handel. *Solomon*, "What tho' I trace" (Cantelo); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Sing unto God."

*December 16, 1789**

Act 1: Kozeluck: New Overture; Davy: Song (Incledon); Schuster: Song (Cantelo); Stamitz: Quartet (Mahon, Holmes, Rogers, & Herschel); Sarti: Song (Harrison); Chevalier St. George: Violin Concerto (Bridgetower); Rauzzini: Duetto (Cantelo & Harrison).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture: *Saul*, Chorus, "Gird thy sword"; Oboe Concerto (Harrington); *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Harrison); Haydn: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel/Arnold: *Redemption*, "He was eyes until the blind" (Cantelo); *Israel in Egypt*, Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*December 30, 1789**

Act 1: [J. C.] Bach: Overture for Double Orchestra [Op. 18?]; Tarchi: Song (Cantelo); Pleyel: Favorite Concertante (?); Cimarosa: Song (Harrison); Piano Concerto (Miles); Gazzaniga: Duetto (Cantelo & Harrison).

Act 2: Handel: *Ptolomy* [*Tolomeo*], Overture; *Esther*, "O beauteous Queen" (Incledon); *Athalia*, Chorus, "Tyrants ye in vain conspire"; Boyce: *Solomon*, Aria, "Softly rise" (Harrison); Corelli:: 8th [Concerto Grosso]; Handel: *Theodora*, "Angels ever bright and fair" (Cantelo); *Joseph*, Chorus, "Blest be the Man."

*January 20, 1790***[2]

Act 1: [J. C.] Bach: Overture for Double Orchestra [Op. 18?]; Jackson: "O Nancy" (Incledon); Song (Miss Mahon); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Sarti: Song (Cantelo).

Act 2: Handel: *Joshua*, Overture, Chorus, "Ye Sons of Israel"; *Athalia*, "Blooming virgins" (Incledon); Song (Miss Mahon); Pianoforte Concerto[3] (Miles); *Jephtha*, "Ye sacred priests" (Cantelo); *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Sing unto God."

*February 3, 1790***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Taylor); Corse: Song (Incledon); Pleyel: Favourite Concertante; Sacchini: Song (Miss Mahon); Stevens: Glee, "Sigh no more, Ladies" (?); Pianoforte Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Alexander's Feast*, Chorus, "The many rend the skies"; Anthem, "Every day will I give thanks" (Incledon); Geminiani: Concerto [Grosso]; Handel: *Judas Maccabeus*, March & Chorus, "See the conquering hero comes"; Aria, "Pious orgies" (Miss Mahon); *Messiah*, Chorus, "Worthy is the Lamb."

1790–91 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 11, 1790, and January 12, 1791. Subscription costs: 1 guinea and a half for gentlemen; 1 guinea for ladies. Non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 6:30 p.m. Advertising was sporadic and often quite vague. Rauzzini abandoned the older system of Modern and Ancient music in the early concerts, promising to introduce the "favourite Songs and Chorusses of HANDEL" (*Bath Chronicle*, October 28, 1790).

Principal Vocal Performers: [Maria] Poole, Miss Goepel [Gopell], Madame Mara, and Mr. Hutley. Secondary Performer: Master Welsh.

Principal Instrumental Performers: Master [Franz] Clement (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), Mr. [Joseph Reinagle] Renagle (cello), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), Mr. Wasbrough (organ), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 10, 1790***

Act 1: Hadyn: Overture; Song (Poole); Pleyel: Quartetto (?); Song (Hutley); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Mara).

Act 2: Pleyel: Favorite Concertante; Song (Hutley); Song (Poole); Violin Concerto (Clement); Haydn: Full Piece.

November 17, 1790

Repertoire not published.

*November 24, 1790***

Third concert.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Hutley); Quartetto for Violin, Cello, Clarionet, & Bassoon (Brooks, Herschel, Mahon, & Holmes); Song (Poole); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Mara).

Act 2: Cello Concerto (Renegle [Reinagle]); Song (Hutley); Song (Poole); Violin Concerto (Clement); Song (Mara); [J. C.] Bach: Full Piece.

*December 1, 1790***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Hutley); Pleyel: Quartetto; Song (Poole); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Mara).

Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Song (Hutley); Solo Cello (Renagle [Reinagle]); Song (Poole); Violin Concerto (Clement); Song (Mara); Haydn: Full Piece.

December 8, 1790

Madame Mara's benefit evening.

*December 15, 1790***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Hutley); Sacchini: Song (Goepel); Concertante for Clarinet & Bassoon; [J. C.] Bach: Song (Poole); Viotti: Concerto for Piano & Violin (Miles & Clement).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "Fallen is the foe," "Come ever smiling liberty" (Goepel); *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Hutley); Violin Concerto (Clement); [*Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*], "What passion cannot Musick raise and quell" (Poole); Chorus, "Sing unto God."

December 22, 1790

Repertoire not published.

*December 29, 1790***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Song, "Gentle Anna's love" (Hutley, "by Desire"); Song (Goepel); Viotti: Concertante for Violin & Cello (Brooks & [Reinagle]); Song (Poole); Pianoforte Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "See the conquering hero comes," March, Song (Miss Goepel); Boyce: [*Solomon*], "Softly rise" (Hutley), Chorus, "Ye southern breezes"; Violin Concerto (Clement); Song (Poole); Handel; [*Athalia*], Chorus, "Tyrants would in impious throngs."

*January 12, 1791***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture, The "Chace" [Symphony no. 73 in D major]; Song (Hutley); Handel: Song (Goepel); Stamitz: Duetto for Violin & Cello (Brooks & [Reinagle]); Song (Poole); Pianoforte Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Pleyel: Favourite Concertante; Handel: Song (Goepel); Handel: Song (Hutley); Violin Concerto (Clement); Handel: Song (Poole); Haydn: Full Piece.

1791–92 Concerts

Eight concerts were given between November 16, 1791, and January 25, 1792. Subscription costs: 1 guinea and a half for gentlemen; 1 guinea for ladies. Non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m. "As soon as the subscription will permit to have the concerts in the GREAT ROOM, some of the favourite CHORUSSES of HANDEL will be introduced" (*Bath Chronicle*, November 2, 1791).

Principal Vocal Performers: [Sarah] Second, Madame Sisley, and Mr. Hutley. [Jonathan] Neild appeared "for a few nights only." Secondary Performer: Master Welsh.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Giovanni Manne] Giornovicchi (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), Mr. Wilkins (organ), Master [Johann Nepomuk] Hummel (piano), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 16, 1791***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Hutley); Violin Concerto (Brooks); Mortellari: Song (Second); New Concertante for Clarinet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); Song (Sisley).

Act 2: Pleyel: Overture; Scotch Air (Second); Handel: [*Messiah*], "I know that my Redeemer liveth" (Master Welsh); Viotti: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Hutley); Song (Sisley); Haydn: Full Piece.

*November 23, 1791***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Hutley); Quartet for Oboe, Violin, Viola, & Cello (Ashley, Brooks, Rogers, Herschel); Cherubini: Song (Sisley); Concertante (Mahon & Holmes); Caruso: Song (Second).

Act 2: Pleyel: Favourite Concertante; Relfe: Song (Hutley); Handel: Song (Second); Piano Concerto (Miles); Sarti: Rondo (Sisley); [J. C.] Bach: Full Piece.

*November 30, 1791***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Hutley); Handel: Song (Master Welsh); Pleyel: Quartetto (Brooks, Mahon, Rogers, & Herschel); Piccinni: French Song (Sisley); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Sacchini: Song (Second).

Act 2: Pleyel: Overture; Handel: Song (Welsh); Mortellari: Song (Second); [J. B.] Krompholt[z]: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Hutley); Rauzzzini: Song (Sisley); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 7, 1791***

Act 1: Pleyel: Overture; Song (Hutley); Handel: Song (Master Welsh); Quartetto for Oboe, Violin, Viola, & Cello (Ashley, Brooks, Rogers, & Herschel); Rauzzini: Song (Second).

Act 2: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Master Welsh); Caruso: Song (Second); [Giornovicchi]: Violin Concerto (Giornovicchi); Handel: Song (Hutley); Mislinecek [Myslivecek]: Rondo (Sisley); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 21, 1791***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Webbe: "The Mansion of Peace" (Hutley); Rauzzini: Song (Second); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Sarti: Song (Sisley); Stamitz: Concertante for Violin & Cello (Brooks & Herschel); Song (Neild & Holmes).

Act 2: Hummel: Piano Concerto (Hummel); Handel: [*Theodora*], "Angels ever bright and fair" (Welsh); Walton: Scotch Air, "All on the pleasant banks" (Second, "by Desire"); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Oft on a plat of rising ground" (Neild); Rauzzini: Song (Sisley); J. C. Bach: Full Piece.

*December 28, 1791***

Mr. Neild's last performance of the season.

Act 1: Overture; Webbe: "The mansion of peace" (Hutley); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Handel: [*The Triumph of Time and Truth*], "Pleasure my former ways" (Neild); Piccini: Song (Sisley); Pleyel: Concertante; Rauzzini: Song (Second).

Act 2: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: [*Acis and Galatea*], "Consider fond shepherd" (Welsh); Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Farewell, ye limpid springs" (Second); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Andreozzi: Song (Neild); Anfossi: Song (Sisley); Haydn: Full Piece.

*January 11, 1792***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Hutley); Stamitz: Concertante for Violin & Cello (Brooks & Herschel); Song (Sisley); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Song (Second).

Act 2: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Welsh); Song (Second); [Giornovicchi]: Violin Concerto (Giornovicchi); Song (Sisley); Haydn, Full Piece.

*January 25, 1792***

Act 1: Gerovetz [Gyrowetz]: New Overture; Song (Hutley); Pleyel: Quartetto; Rauzzini: Song (Welsh); Flute Concerto ([Ashe]); Sacchini: Song (Second).

Act 2: Pleyel: Overture; Handel: Song (Welsh); Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Hutley); [Giornovicchi]: Violin Concerto (Giornovicchi); Song (Second); Haydn: Full Piece.

1792–93 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 14, 1792, and January 23, 1793. Subscription costs: 1 guinea and a half for gentlemen; 1 guinea for ladies. Non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m. "As soon as the subscription will permit to have the concerts in the GREAT ROOM, some of the favourite CHORUSSES of HANDEL will be introduced" (*Bath Chronicle*, November 15, 1792).

Principal Vocal Performers: [Jonathan] Neild, and [Sophia] Dussek. Secondary Performer: Mr. Bartleman.

Principal Instrumental Performers: Master [John] Taylor (violin), [Hannah] Taylor (violin), [Felix] Janiewicz (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), [Jan] Dussek (piano), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 14, 1792***

Act 1: Haydn: New Overture; Song (Neild); Concertante for Clarinet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); Song ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).

Act 2: Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song ([S.] Dussek); Haydn: Full Piece.

*November 21, 1792***

Act 1: Haydn: New Overture; Paisiello: Song (Neild); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Sarti: Song ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Tarchi: Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).

Act 2: Giornovicchi: Violin Concerto (Taylor); Handel: Song (Neild); [J. Dussek]: Piano Concerto ([J.] Dussek); Andreozzi: Rondo ([S.] Dussek); [J. C.] Bach: Full Piece.

*November 28, 1792***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Neild & Holmes); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Song ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).

Act 2: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Neild); Giornovicchi: Violin Concerto ([Hannah] Taylor); Handel: Song ([S.] Dussek); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 5, 1792***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Neild); Concertante for Clarinet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); J. Dussek: Vocal Scena ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Tritta: Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).

Act 2: Krompholt[z]: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Neild); Brooks: Violin Concerto (J. Taylor); Gresnick: Song ([S.] Dussek); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 19, 1792***

December 12 was a benefit concert for Jonathan Neild. The subscription concerts were pushed a week ahead, when they were moved into the large Assembly Room.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Neild); Concertante for Clarinet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); Song ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Rauzzini: Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).
Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Handel: Song (Neild); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song ([S.] Dussek); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 26, 1792***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Sarti: Vocal Scena (Neild); Concertante for Clarinet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); Sarti: Rondo ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Rauzzini: Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).
Act 2: ([Largely] *Selected from the Works of Handel*): *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; Song (Neild); Dr. Boyce: [*Solomon*], "Softy rise, O southern breeze"; Song ([S.] Dussek); [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); [Handel]: Coronation Anthem.

*January 3, 1793***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Sarti: Song (Neild & Holmes, "by Particular Desire"); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Song ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Duet (Neild & [S.] Dussek).
Act 2: Pleyel: Concertante; Handel: Song (Neild); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song ([S.] Dussek); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); [J. C.] Bach: Full Piece.

*January 23, 1793***

The advertisement in the *Bath Chronicle* (January 24, 1793) states that Dussek's piano concerto was performed by his wife, who also was a pianist and harpist. Having her play a keyboard concerto would have been a considerable novelty for the Bath audience.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Bartleman); Viotti: Concerto for Two Violins (J. Taylor & [Hannah] Taylor); Song ([S.] Dussek); Flute Concerto (Ashe).
Act 2: Pleyel: Favourite Concertante ("by Desire"); Battishill: Song (Bartleman); [J.] Dussek]: Piano Concerto (S. Dussek); Song (S. Dussek); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Haydn: Full Piece.

1793–94 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 13, 1793, and January 29, 1794. Subscription costs: 1 guinea and a half for gentlemen; 1 guinea for ladies. Non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m. "As soon as the subscription will permit to have the concerts in the GREAT ROOM, some of the favourite CHORUSSES of HANDEL will be introduced" (*Bath Chronicle*, November 14, 1793).

Principal Vocal Performers: [Jonathan] Neild and [Theresa] Negri.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Felix] Janiewicz (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (Flute), [Gaetano] Besozzi (Oboe, "for a few nights"), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), [Jan] Dussek (piano), and Mrs. Jane Miles (piano).

*November 13, 1793***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Neild); Concerto for Clarionet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); Song (Negri); Piano Concerto (Miles); Duet (Neild & Negri).

Act 2: Pleyel: Favourite Concertante ("by Desire"); Song (Neild); Oboe Concerto (Besozzi); Song (Negri); Haydn: Full Piece.

*November 20, 1793***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Neild); Concerto for Clarionet & Bassoon (Mahon & Holmes); Song (Negri); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Duet (Neild & Negri).

Act 2: Oboe Concerto (Besozzi); Song (Neild); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Song (Negri); Full Piece; Military Musick.

*November 27, 1793***

This concert began at 7:30 pm.

Act 1: Pleyel: Overture; Song (Neild); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Song (Negri); Piano Concerto (Miles); Duet (Neild & Negri).

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture ("by Desire"); Song (Neild); Concertante for Oboe, Flute, & Bassoon (Besozzi, Ashe, & Holmes); Song (Negri); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 4, 1793***

Mr. Besozzi's last performance for the season.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Neild); Devienne: Concertante for Oboe, Flute, & Bassoon (Besozzi, Ashe, & Holmes, "by Desire"); Song (Negri), Piano Concerto (Miles); Bianchi: Duet (Neild & Negri).
Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Handel: Song (Neild & Herschel); Oboe Concerto (Besozzi); Song (Negri); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Haydn: Full Piece.

December 18, 1793

The repertoire not advertised, although the advertisement in the *Bath Chronicle* (December 12, 1793) stated that Janiewicz would play a violin concerto. The remainder of the concerts for the season were advertised in the *Bath Journal*.

*January 1, 1794**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture, The "Chace" [Symphony no. 73 in D major], Song (Neild); Corelli: 8th Concerto [Grosso], "by Particular Desire"; Song (Negri); Piano Concerto (Miles); Duet (Neild & Negri).
Act 2: Flute Concerto (Ashe); Handel: Song (Neild & Herschel); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Song (Negri); Haydn: Full Piece.

*January 15, 1794**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Neild); Pleyel: Quartet for Oboe, Violin, Viola, & Cello (Ashley, Brooks, Rogers, & Herschel); Song (Negri); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Paisiello: Duet (Neild & Negri).
Act 2: Pleyel: The Favourite Concertante ("by Desire"); Handel: Song (Neild); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Song (Negri); Haydn: Full Piece.

*January 29, 1794**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song; Oboe Quartet; Song (Negri); Concertante for Violin, Viola, & Flute (Ashe, Brooks, & Rogers).
Act 2: Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Negri); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Rondo (Negri); Haydn: Full Piece.

1794–95 Concerts

Eight concerts were presented between November 12, 1794, and January 21, 1795. Subscription costs: 1 guinea and a half for gentlemen; 1 guinea for ladies. Non-subscriber's admittance: 5 shillings. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [John] Bream [Braham],[4] [Maria Parke], and Madame Mara (for the last three concerts).

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Giovanni] Viotti (violin), [Felix] Janiewicz (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (Flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 12, 1794***

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Storace: Song (Braham); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Flute Concerto (Ashe).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Handel: *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Braham); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Parke); Full Piece.

*November 19, 1794***

Act 1: Uraninski [likely Paul Wranitzky]: Overture; Haydn: "The Recollection" (Braham); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Song (Parke); Flute Concerto (Ashe).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Oft on a plat of rising ground: (Braham); Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (Parke); Full Piece.

*November 26, 1794***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Sarti: Song (Braham); Handel: 5th Concerto [Grosso]; Anfossi: Song (Parke); Flute Concerto (Ashe).

Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Handel: Song (Braham); [Viotti]: Violin Concerto (Viotti); Handel: Song (Parke); Full Piece.

*December 3, 1794***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Braham); Corelli: Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Piano Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Handel: Song (Braham & Herschel); [Viotti]: Violin Concerto (Viotti); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (Parke & Ashe); Full Piece.

*December 17, 1794***

An advertisement for the fifth concert in the series for December 10 appeared in the *Bath Chronicle* (December 11, 1794).[5] The concert, however, did not take place until a week later.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Aria (Braham); Ricciotti: Concerto (?); Scena (Parke, "by Particular Desire"); Flute Concerto (Ashe).
Act 2: Wraninski [Wranitzky]: Overture; Handel: Song (Braham); Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: Song (Parke); Full Piece.

*December 31, 1794***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Braham); Corelli: 8th Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Mara); Flute Concerto (Ashe).
Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Song (Braham); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

*January 7, 1795***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Braham); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Mara); Piano Concerto (Miles).
Act 2: Pleyel: Favourite Concertante; Song (Braham); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

*January 21, 1795***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Braham); Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Symphony; Song (Mara); Piano Concerto (Miles); Mara: "Wake, fond heart, to grief alone" (Mara).
Act 2: Pleyel: Overture; Song (Braham); [Janiewicz]: Violin Concerto (Janiewicz); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

1795–96 Concerts

Nine subscription concerts were presented between November 18, 1795, and February [?], 1796, under the sponsorship of "the Gentlemen of the Committee

for conducting the Concerts of the Season" (*Bath Chronicle*, October 29, 1795). In addition, there were three Choral Evenings that were outside of the general subscription costs. For the various ticket prices, see chapter 5. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m. There was limited advertising of the programs for this season. Only the first subscription concert and the first two Choral Evenings appear to have been given extended listings in the newspapers. Knowledge of the repertoire performed in this season is limited as a result.

Principal Vocal Performers: [John] Braham, Madame Mara. Secondary Vocal Performers: Miss Gopell [Goepel], Mr. Williamson

Principal Instrumental Performers: Master Loder (violin), [John] Taylor (violin), [Hannah] Taylor (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (Flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 18, 1795***

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini, Song (Braham); Bassoon Concerto (Holmes); Song (Mara); Rauzzini: *A New March.*

Act 2: Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Handel: Song (Braham); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Rondo (Mara); Full Piece.

*December 9, 1795***

First Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel, *Esther*: Overture, Chorus, "Ye sons of Israel"; [*Samson*], "Honour and Arms" (Williamson); [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Let me wander" (Gopell); [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; Aria (Braham); Flute Concerto (Ashe); [?*Xerxes*], "Holy, holy, holy" (Mara); [*Saul*], Chorus, "Gird on the sword."

Act 2: Haydn, Overture; [Boyce: *Solomon*], Aria "Softly rise" (Braham), Chorus, "Ye southern breezes"; Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Ye sacred Priests" (Mara); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Duet (Gopell & Braham); Rondo (Mara); Handel: [*Solomon*], Chorus, "Fixt in his everlasting seat."

January 13, 1796

Second Choral Evening

Act 1: Handel: *Saul*, Overture; [*Alexander's Feast*], Chorus: "The many rend the skies"; [*Deborah*], "Tears such as tender Father" (Williamson); [*Joshua*], "O had I Jubal's Lyre" (Gopell); [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "O Father whose Almighty power"; Flute Concerto (Ashe); [Handel: *Sosarme*],

"Lord remember David" (Mara); [*Israel in Egypt*], Double Chorus, "The Lord shall reign forever and ever."

Act 2: Rauzzini: March & Overture; Handel: [*Saul*], "In sweetest Harmony" (Mara), Chorus, "O fatal day"; [*Samson*], "Why does the God of Israel sleep" (Braham); Viotti: Concerto for Two Violins (Taylor & [Hannah] Taylor); [Handel: *Acis and Galatea*], Trio, "The Flock shall leave the mountains" (Gopell, Braham, & Russell); Coronation Anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

January 20, 1796

Handbill found on Eighteenth Century Collections Online [CW106656419].

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Paisiello: "Cara negl'occhi tuoi" (Braham); Handel: 5th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Tarchi: "Tempesta il mar minaccia" (Mara); Piano Concerto (Miles).

Act 2: Pleyel: The Favourite Concertante; Graeff: "Adieu to delight, for my charmer is gone" (Braham); Ashe: Flute Concerto (Ashe); Tr[a]etta: "Prudente mi chiedi?"(Mara); Haydn: Full Piece.

1796–97 Concerts

Nine subscription concerts were presented between November 23, 1796, and February 8, 1797. In addition, there were three Choral Evenings that were outside of the general subscription costs. For the various ticket prices, see chapter 5. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [John] Braham, [Jonathan] Neild, [Nancy] Storace, and [Maria] Parke; Secondary Vocal Performers: Miss Gopell, Mr. Russell, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Hottenos.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [John] Taylor (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Holmes (bassoon), Mr. Wilkins (organ), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 23, 1796**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Braham); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Saberi: Rondo (Storace); S. Storace: *Mahmoud*, Duet (Storace & Braham).

Act 2: Rauzzini: March & Overture; S. Storace: *Mahmoud*, "Favorite Ballad" (Braham); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Purcell: "Mad Bess" (Storace); Haydn: Full Piece.

*November 30, 1796**

Act 1: Gerowetz [Gyrowetz]: Overture; Song (Neild); Pleyel: Quartet for Oboe, Violin, Viola, & Cello (Ashley, Brooks, Rogers, & Herschel); Sarti: Song (Storace); Viotti: Violin Concerto (Taylor); Paisiello: *Elfrida*, Duet (Storace & Neild).

Act 2: Haydn: 1st Overture; Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Oft on a plat of rising ground" (Neild); Cramer: Piano Concerto (Miles); S. Storace: "Favorite Ballad" (Storace); Rosetti: Full Piece.

*December 7, 1796**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Song (Braham); Corelli: Concerto [Grosso]; Sarti: Song (N. Storace); Pleyel: The Favorite Concertante.

Act 2: Haydn: 8th Overture; Anfossi: Song (Braham); S. Storace: *Mahmoud*, "The favorite Irish ballad" (N. Storace); Giornovicchi: Violin Concerto (Taylor); Rauzzini: Duet (N. Storace & Braham); [J. C.] Bach: Full Piece.

*December 14, 1796**

First Choral Evening

Act 1: Mozart: New Overture; Sarti: Song (Braham); [S. Storace]: *The Iron Chest*, Glee (Storace, Gopsell, Braham, & Russell); Piano Concerto (Miles); Arne: [*Artaxerxes*], "A soldier tir'd" (Storace); S. Storace: *Mahmoud*, Duet (Storace & Braham).

Act 2: Handel: *Alexander's Feast.*

*December 21, 1796**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture "(from manuscript)"; Rauzzini: "Old Oliver" (Braham); Violin & Cello Duet (Brooks & Herschel); Song (Storace); Corelli: 8th Concerto [Grosso].

Act 2: Haydn: 2nd Overture; Anfossi: Song (Braham); Rauzzini: Duet (Storace & Braham); Violin Concerto (Taylor); S. Storace: [*Mahmoud*], "The favorite Irish ballad" (N. Storace, repeated "by Particular Desire"); Haydn: Full Piece.

January 4, 1797

Listed in the *Bath Journal*, December 26, 1796, for January 7, date corrected in the issue of January 2, 1797. The repertoire for the concert is quite different in each advertisement. That from the later edition of the paper follows:

Act 1: Haydn: Overture, The "Chace" [Symphony no. 73 in D major]; Song (Braham); Pleyel: String Quartet (Brooks, Rogers, Loder, & Herschel); Song (Parke); Handel: 2nd Oboe Concerto.
Act 2: Wraminski [Wranitzky]: Overture; Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Parke); Haydn: Full Piece.

*January 11, 1797**

Second Choral Evening
Violin Concerto (Loder); Handel: *Acis and Galatea* (Williamson, Russell, Gopell, & Parke)

*January 21, 1797**

Postponed to Saturday because of a ball in honour of the queen (*Bath Journal*, January 16, 1797).

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Neild); Handel: 4th Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Violin Concerto (Taylor).
Act 2: Pleyel: Overture; Song (Neild); Dussek: Piano Concerto (Miles); Full Piece. This listing appears very brief and may be incomplete.

*February 1, 1797**

Act 1: Wraninski [Wranitsky]: Overture; Song (Neild); Handel, 12th Oboe Concerto; Song (Parke); Violin Concerto (Taylor).
Act 2: Rauzzini: Overture; Song (Neild); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Parke); Haydn: Full Piece.

February 8, 1797

Repertoire not published.

*February 15, 1797**

Third Choral Evening
Handel: *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato* (Braham, Williamson, Russell, Taylor, Gopell, & Parke)

1797–98 Concerts

Nine subscription concerts were presented between November 22, 1797, and February 14, 1798. In addition, there were three Choral Evenings that were outside of the general subscription costs. For the various ticket prices, see chapter 5. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m.**

Principal Vocal Performers: [Jonathan] Neild, [Maria] Poole; [Mary] Comer, and Madame Mara. Secondary Performers: [Charles] Incledon, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Florio, Mr. Russell, Master Gray, Giuseppe Viganoni, and Carlo Rovedino.

Principal Instrument Performers: Master Loder (violin), [John] Taylor (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Wilkins (organ), and Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano).

*November 22, 1797***

Act 1: Carl Stamitz: Overture; Song (Comer); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Neild); Song (Poole).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Ballad (Comer); Handel: Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Poole); Full Piece; Rauzzini: *Jervis and Duncan; or, The Year Ninety-Seven* (Mr. Taylor, with chorus).

*November 29, 1797**

Act 1: Rosetti: Overture; Rauzzini: Rondo (Comer); Song (Neild); Geminiani: Concerto [Grosso]; Ferrari: Song (Poole).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: "O why my locks so yellow" (Comer, repeated "by Particular Desire"); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Poole); Full Piece.

*December 6, 1797**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Sarti: Rondo (Comer); Song (Neild); Cello Solo (Herschel); Song (Poole); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture.

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: "The Avon's side," a new Ballad (Comer); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Handel: Song (Neild); Song (Poole); Full Piece.

*December 13, 1797**

First Choral Evening.

The review in the *Bath Chronicle* (December 21, 1797) states that Mrs. Miles played a concerto of her own composition.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: [*Joshua*], "Hark! 'tis the linnet: (Comer); Song (Neild); Handel: *Samson*, Overture; Purcell: "Rosy bowers" (Poole); [Miles]: New Piano Concerto (Miles); Rauzzini: *Jervis and Duncan; or, The Year Ninety-Seven* (Mr. Taylor, with chorus).
Act 2: Handel: *Dettingen Te Deum.*

December 20, 1797

Act 1: Uraninski [?Wranitzky]: Overture; Sarti: Rondo (Comer); Florio: Song (Neild); Corelli: 8th Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Poole).
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: "O why my Locks so yellow" (Poole, repeated "by Particular Desire"); Handel: [*Athalia*], "Gentle airs" (Neild & Herschel); Violin Concerto (Taylor); S[c]huster: Full Piece.

*January 3, 1798**

Act 1: Gerowetz [Gyrowetz]: Overture; Rauzzini: Rondo (Poole); Song (Neild); Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Agitata Bravura* (Mara).
Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Florio: Duet (Mara & Neild); Relph, "Mary's Dream" (Comer); Song (Neild); Piano Concerto (Miles); Anfossi: The Favorite Rondo (Mara); [J. C.] Bach: Full Piece.

*January 10, 1798**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Caruso: Song (Comer); Florio: Ballad (Neild); Handel: 1st Grand Concerto [Grosso].
Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Rauzzini: Ballad (Comer); Handel: Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Mara); Haydn: Full Piece.

January 17, 1798

Second Choral Evening.

The *Bath Herald* (January 20, 1798) records Incledon's repertoire in the first act. The reviewer reported that the concert was the "most crouded of any this season."

Act 1: Rauzzini: Overture; Florio: Ballad (Comer); Paisiello: Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Master Loder); [Shield: *Italian Villagers*, "Battle Song"] (Incledon); Rauzzini: Song (Mara); [Arne: *Alfred*], "Rule Britannia" (Incledon & Chorus).

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture; The Funeral Anthem, Vocal Quartet (Mara, Neild, Florio, & Russell); *Saul*, Chorus & March; [*Semele*], "Where e'er you walk" (Comer); [*Samson*], "Why does the God of Israel" (Incledon); *Berenice*, Overture; [*Triumph of Time and Truth*], "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Neild); [Arne: *Artaxerxes*], "A soldier tir'd" (Mara); Handel, Coronation Anthem: "Zadok the Priest."

*January 24, 1798**

Act 1: Pleyel: Overture; Sarti: Song (Comer); Florio: Song (Neild); Handel: 5th Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Mara).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*], repeated by "Particular Desire"; Song (Comer); Handel: [*Triumph of Time and Truth*], "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Neild); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Mara); Haydn: Full Piece.

*February 7, 1798**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Sarti: Rondo (Comer); Pleyel: The Favorite Concertante; Glee; Florio: Song (Mara).

Act 2: Uraninski [?Wranitzky]: Overture; Miles: Ballad (Comer); [Rauzzini]: *Cymbeline*, "Dirge";[6] Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

*February 14, 1798**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Comer); Geminiani: Concerto [Grosso]; Glee; Song (Mara).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*], "by Particular Desire"; Rauzzini: "O why my locks so yellow" (Comer, "by Particular Desire"); Giornovicchi: Violin Concerto (Taylor); Duet (Comer & Florio); Song (Mara); Pleyel: Full Piece.

*February 21, 1798**

Third Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel: Occasional Overture; [*Jephtha*], "The smiling dawn" (Master Gray); [*Joshua*], Chorus: "Ye sons of Israel"; Song (Rodedino); [*Theodora*], "Angels ever bright and fair" (Comer); Song (Viganoni); Handel: *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

Act 2: Handel: *Esther*, Overture; Song (Viganoni); Handel: *Judas Maccabeus*, Chorus, "O Father, whose Almighty power"; [*Messiah*], "But thous didst not leave" (Master Gray); Duet (Viganoni & Rovedino); [Chandos Anthem], "O magnify the Lord" (Comer); Song (Viganoni); *Messiah*, Chorus, "Worthy is the Lamb."

1798–99 Concerts

Twelve subscription concerts were presented between November 21, 1798, and March 6, 1799, including three Choral Evenings that were now included in the general subscription. For the various ticket prices, see chapter 5. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m. The original dates for the later concerts were much upset when the magistrates ordered Rauzzini not to present concerts on January 30 and February 6. This resulted in much rescheduling of his concerts and benefit evenings throughout the city, and a much later close to the subscription series than was usual.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Jonathan] Neild, [Mary] Comer, Madame Mara, Mrs. Mountain, Miss Worrall, and Miss Andrews. Secondary Performer: Mr. Chard (from Winchester).

Principal Instrumental Performers: [George Frederick] Pinto (violin), [John] Taylor (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Mr. Wilkins (organ), Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano), and Mademoiselle Dupree (pedal harp).

*November 21, 1798**

The final work on the program was advertised only as a "Full Piece." The review of the concert in the *Bath Herald* (November 24, 1798) reveals the work to have been the premiere of Rauzzini's March which was dedicated to the "Volunteer Corps of Bath." It would seem from this review that Mrs. Mountain sang the ballad "Poor Ora tink of Yanko," although she was not so credited in the review. The reviewer claimed that the song was "much better in the original setting. In its present state there is a complete *travestie* of the words and musick."

Act 1: Kozeluck: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Andrews); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Mountain); Rauzzini: "Duetto Notturno" (Comer & Andrews).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Ballad, "The Negro Girl" (Comer); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Waft her angels" (Andrews); Harp Concerto (Dupree); Song (Mountain); [Rauzzini: March].

November 28, 1798

Repertoire taken from an uncatalogued concert handbill in the Bath Public Library.

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Rauzzini: Recitative & Aria, "Son pur giunta / Infelice in tanto orrore" (Comer, acc. by Brooks in the aria); Handel: 1st Concerto [Grosso]; Guglielmi: Recitative & Aria, "Grazie vi rendo / A compir gia vol" (Mountain); Taniewick: Violin Concerto (Taylor).

Act 2: Haydn: "New Overture"; Rauzzini: Ballad,"The Negro Girl" (Comer, "by Particular Desire"); Steibelt: Piano Concerto (Miles); Handel: [*Solomon*], "What tho' I trace" (Andrews); Rauzzini: New Ballad, "If in your village" (Mountain); Rauzzini: March (Dedicated to the Cavalry and Infantry Volunteers of Bath).

*December 5, 1798**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Comer); Handel: 4th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Cimarosa: Song (Mountain); Krompholt[z]: Harp Concerto (Dupree).

Act 2: Haydn: "Surprise" Symphony [no. 94 in G]; Ballad (Andrews); Canso: Song (Comer); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Attwood: Song (Mountain, Dupree, & Brooks); Rauzzini: March (Dedicated to the Cavalry and Infantry Volunteers of Bath).

*December 12, 1798**

First Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel: *Esther*, Overture; [*Acis and Galatea*], "Consider fond Shepherd" (Comer); [*Alexander's Feast*], Chorus, "The many rend the skies"; [*Samson*], "Let the bright seraphim" (Andrews); [*L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato*], "Oft on a plat of rising ground" (Neild); [*Alexander's Feast*], "Softly sweet in Lidian measures" (Mountain & Herschel); Boyce: [*Solomon*], "Together let us range the fields" (Mountain & Neild); Handel: [*Samson*], Chorus: "Fix'd in his everlasting seat."

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture; Song (Comer); Handel: [*Samson*], "My faith and truth" (Comer & Andrews); Boyce: [*Solomon*], "Softy rise" (Neild), Chorus, "Ye southern breezes"; Violin Concerto (Pinto); Arne: [*Artaxerxes*], "A soldier tir'd" (Mountain); Handel: Coronation Anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

*December 19, 1798**

Act 1: Pleyel: Overture; Handel: Song (Andrews); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Rauzzini: Song (Mountain); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon).
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: "O why my Locks so yellow" (Comer); Paisiello: Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Pinto); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

January 2, 1799

Repertoire as listed on an uncatalogued playbill in the Bath Central Library.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Handel: [*Esther*], "Tune your harps" (Comer); Corelli: 8th Concerto Grosso; Paisiello: "Mentre ti lassio" (Neild); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Rauzzini: Scena, "Ch'io ti lascia cor mio!" & "Di te scordarmi e vivere" (Mara).
Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Rauzzini: "Go Zephyrs" (Comer); Handel: [*The Triumph of Time and Truth*], "Pleasure my former ways resigning" (Neild); Salomon: Violin Concerto (Pinto); Guglielmi: Recitative & Rondo, "Deh mio bene" & "Deh per poco" (Mara); Haydn: Full Piece.

January 9, 1799

Mr. Mahon's and Master Pinto's last performances for the season. Repertoire as listed on an uncatalogued playbill in the Bath Central Library.

Act 1: Gyrowetz: Overture; Haydn [?Handel]: *Acis and Galatea*, "Hush! Ye pretty warbling quire" (Comer); Handel: 2nd Oboe Concerto; Andreozzi: Recitative & Aria, "In mezzo all'armi" & "Ah! Quel anima" (Neild); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon); Caruso: "So che dovrei godere" (Mara).
Act 2: Haydn: "La Reine de France" [Symphony no. 85 in B flat]; Florio: Duet, "All I wish her obtaining" (Mara & Neild); Sarti: Rondo, "In un mar di tante pene" (Comer); Rauzzini: "O Cynthia" (Neild); La Motte: Violin Concerto (Pinto); Nassolini: "Son tante le pene" (Mara); Schuster: Full Piece.

*January 16, 1799***

Second Choral Evening.
Act 1: "chiefly selected from the Works of HANDEL" [repertoire not specified].
Act 2: selections from Handel's *Judas Maccabeus.*

January 23, 1799

Mara's benefit evening.

*January 31, 1799****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzzini: "The Negro Girl" (Comer); Paisiello: Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Taylor); Song (Mara).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Comer); Handel: Chandos Anthem, "O come let us worship" (Neild); Harp Concerto (Dupree); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

*February 13, 1799, February 20, 1799***

The repertoire for the tenth and eleventh subscription concerts was not advertised. Miss Worrall, from Liverpool, appeared on February 13 for the first time.

March 6, 1799

Third Choral Evening.

Repertoire as listed on an uncatalogued playbill in the Bath Central Library.

Act 1: Handel: *Samson*, Overture; *Athalia*, "Tyrants would in impious throng"; *Judas Maccabeus*, "O liberty!" (Chard); *Saul*, "In sweetest harmony" (Comer), Chorus, "O fatal day!"; *Jephtha*, "The smiling dawn" (Worrall); *Esther*, Duet, "Who calls my parting soul" (Comer & Chard); *Israel in Egypt* [Chorus], "He gave them hailstones for rain."

Act 2: Handel: *Atalanta*, Overture; *Joshua*, "But who is he!" & "Awful, pleasing being" (Chard), "Hark! 'Tis the linnet and the thrush" (Comer); *Saul*, "Dead March"; The Funeral Anthem (Worrall, Chard, Cooke, & Russell).

1799–1800 Concerts

Twelve subscription concerts were presented between November 20, 1799, and February 19, 1800, including three Choral Evenings that were part of the general subscription. For the various ticket prices, see chapter 5. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Giuseppe] Viganoni, [Carlo] Rovedino, [Jonathan] Neild, [Mary] Ashe (nee Comer), Madame Mara, Mrs. Mountain, and Miss Andrews. Secondary Performers: Mr. Russell, Miss Grant, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Cook.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [George Frederick] Pinto (violin), [John] Taylor (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), Master Loder (viola), [Robert] Lindley (Cello), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Domenico] Dragonetti (double bass), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Wilkin[son] (organ), Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano), and Miss Cantelo (harp).

November 20, 1799, November 27, 1799, and December 4, 1799

Repertoire for these concerts was not published. For the third of the concerts, it was advertised that "A young Lady (from London of great Abilities) will sing for the first time."***

December 11, 1799

First Choral Evening.

"A Grand Selection from the works of Handel, with Chorus."

December 18, 1799, January 1, 1800, and January 8, 1800

Repertoire for these concerts was not published, although newspaper reviews indicate that Haydn's Symphony no. 100 in G major ("Military") was performed on December 18, 1799, the night that Madame Mara made her first appearance of the season.

January 15, 1800

Second Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; [Chandos Anthem], "O Magnify the Lord" (Ashe); Boyce: [*Solomon*], Aria, "Softly rise" (Neild), Chorus, "Ye southern breezes"; Handel: [*Joshua*], "O had I Jubal's lyre" (Grant); Boyce: [*Solomon*], "Together let us range the fields" (Ashe & Neild); Handel: [*Theodora*], "Angels ever bright and fair" (Mara); [*Israel in Egypt*], "The Lord shall reign forever and ever," Recitative & Verse (Neild), "Sing ye to the Lord" (Mara & ?Chorus).

Act 2: Handel, *Judas Maccabeus*: Overture; Chorus, "Mourn ye Afflicted Children"; Aria, "Pious Orgies" (Mara); Chorus, "O Father, whose Almighty power"; Aria, "Come ever smiling liberty" (Grant); Aria, "'Tis liberty alone" (Andrews); Aria, "O Liberty" (Neild & Herschel); Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; Aria, "Sound an alarm" (Neild); [?*Xerxes*], "Holy, holy" (Mara); [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "See the conquering hero comes"; March; Chorus, "Sing unto God."

*January 22, 1800**

Mr. Neild's last performance of the season.

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Rauzzini: Ballad, "The Negro Girl" (Ashe); Andreozzi: Song (Neild); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Andreozzi: Song (Mara); Pleyel: The Favourite Concertante.
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Handel: Song (Neild); [Rauzzini]: *Cymbeline*, "Dirge" (Mr. & Mrs. Neild & Russell); Violin Concerto (Master J. Taylor); Song (Mara); Full Piece.

*February 5, 1800**

Mrs. Mountain's first appearance for the season.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Ashe); Handel: 4th Oboe Concerto; Song (Mountain); Harp Concerto (Cantelo).
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Ashe); Violin Concerto (Pinto); Song (Mountain); Full Piece.

*February 12, 1800**

Master Pinto's last performance for the season.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Ashe); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Mountain); Violin Concerto (Pinto).
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Ashe); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Mountain); Full Piece.

*February 19, 1800**

Third Choral Evening.
First appearance by Mr. Phillips.

Act 1: [Handel]: Occasional Overture; *Athalia*, "Tyrants would in impious throngs" (Grant), "Blooming virgins" (Phillips & Herschel, vlc.); *Samson*, "Let the bright seraphim" (Andrews); *Saul*, "In sweetest harmony" (Ashe), Chorus, "O fatal day"; Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Song (Mountain); Handel: *Saul*, Chorus, "Gird on thy sword."
Act 2: Handel: *Atalanta*, Overture; *Judas Maccabeus*, "So shall the lute and harp" (Grant); Song (Andrews); Chandos Anthem, "Every day will I give thanks" (Phillips); Gambini: Concerto for 2 violins and viola (Pinto, Taylor, & Loder); Handel: Funeral Anthem; [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe); [Arne: *Artaxerxes*], "A soldier tir'd" (Mountain); Handel: *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

1800–1801 Concerts

Twelve subscription concerts were presented between November 19, 1800, and February [?], 1801, including three Choral Evenings that were part of the general subscription. For the various ticket prices, see chapter 5. Concerts began at 7:00 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Giuseppe] Viganoni, [Carlo] Rovedino, [Jonathan] Neild, [Mary] Ashe (nee Comer), Madame Mara, Miss Andrews, Miss Grant, and [Thomas] Welsh. Secondary Performers: Signora Viganoni, Signora Rovedino.

Principal Instrumental Performers: Signor Spagnoletto (violin), Monsieur Alday (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), Master Loder (viola), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Domenico] Dragonetti (double bass), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [John] Ashley (bassoon), Mr. Waite (trumpet), Mr. Wilkins[on] (organ), Mrs. [Jane] Miles (piano), and Miss Cantelo & Mlle Merelle (harp).

*November 19, 1800****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Buffo Song (Rovedino); Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Waft her, angels" (Ashe); Handel: 1st Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Aria (Viganoni); Terzetto (Viganoni, Rovedino, & Signora Rovedino).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Buffo Aria (Rovedino); Rauzzini: Ballad, "Sweet Ellen" (Ashe); Duet (Viganoni & Signora Rovedino); Flute Concerto (Ashe); Aria (Viganoni); Full Piece.

*November 26, 1800****

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Caruso: Aria (Rovedino); Zingarelli: Aria (Viganoni); Handel: Song (Ashe); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Canzonetta Veneziana, "Mama mia" (?); Guglielmi: Terzetto (Viganoni, Signora & Signor Rovedino).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Mozart: Duet (Viganoni & Signora Rovedino); Cimarosa: Aria (Rovedino); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Mozart: Duet (Viganoni & Signora Rovedino); Guglielmi: Terzetto, "La Campagnella" (Rovedino, Ashe, & ?); Full Piece.

December 3, 1800

Repertoire not found.

December 10, 1800

First Choral Evening.

Handbill found in the Royal College of Music, London [XI.B.24 / D428/2].

Haydn: *The Creation*. The vocal performers were Jonathan Neild, Thomas Welsh, Mary Ashe, and Madame Mara.

December 17, 1800, December 31, 1800, and January 7, 1801

Repertoire not found.

Rauzzini did not advertise his full programs in all of the Bath newspapers. In the period from 1800, he advertised with the "Bath Herald." Regrettably, only sporadic copies of this newspaper have survived for the period of 1800–1802. The Bath Central Library has original copies thereafter. As a result, there is a gap in the concert listings that follow.

1801–2 Concerts

There were (presumably) twelve subscription concerts, including three Choral Evenings included in the general subscription. The following list of performers is likely very incomplete.

Principal Vocal Performers: [John] Braham, [Giuseppe] Viganoni, [Nancy] Storace, [Mary] Ashe, Miss Sharp, Miss Daniels, and Mr. Webber.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [?John C. M.] Bianchi[7] (violin), [James] Brooks (violin), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [John] Ashely (bassoon), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Wilkin[son] (organ), and [Jane] Miles (piano).

The repertoire of the concerts prior to January 13, 1802, has not been located.

*January 13, 1802****

Eighth concert.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Rovedino); Song (Storace); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Braham); Song (Storace); Duetto (Storace & Braham).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Braham); Purcell: "Mad Bess" (Storace); ?Bianchi: New Violin Concerto (Bianchi); Song (Braham); Full Piece.

January 20, 1802

Repertoire not published.

*January 16. 1802****

Because Storace and Braham had to leave Bath, Rauzzini mounted a special concert to highlight their performances. The repertoire has not been located.

January 27, 1802

The following from a handbill in the British Library [1871.E.1.(215.)].

Act 1: Haydn: New Overture; Handel: *Samson*, "Honour and arms" (G. Rovedino); Handel: Oboe Concerto; Guglielmi: [*Semiramide*], Scena, "Grazie vi rendo pietosi . . . Accompir gia vo'limpressa" (Daniels, accompanied by Brooks); Ashe: Flute Concerto (Ashe); Cimarosa: Duetto, "Andante voi solo" (Sharp & G. Rodevino).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Sarti: Scena [*Alessandro e Timoteo*], "Barsene invan presume . . . Tremante, gelosa" (Sharp); Giornovicchi & Bianchi: New Medley Violin Concerto (Bianchi) [medley concerto by Giornovicchi adapted so as to introduce "an ancient Irish Air"]; Bianchi: [*Antigona*], "Non piangete io vade a morte" (Daniels); Rosetti: Full Piece.

February 3, 1802

Repertoire not published.

*February 10, 1802****

Third Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel: Occasional Overture; [*Joshua*], Chorus, "Ye sons of Israel"; Song (Daniels); [*Athalia*], Chorus, "Tyrants would in impious throngs"; Song (Rovedino); Handel: [*Deborah*], "Tears such as tender feathers" (Sharp); [?*Xerxes*], Song, "Holy, holy"; 2nd Oboe Concerto; [*Saul*], "In sweetest harmony" (Ashe), Chorus, "O fatal day"; [*Samson*], "Let the bright seraphim" (Daniels), Chorus, "Fix'd in his everlasting seat."

Act 2: Handel, *Judas Maccabeus*: Overture; Chorus, "O Father, whose Almighty power"; "Pious Orgies" (Ashe); "From mighty Kings" (Daniels); Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; "O Liberty" (Sharp & Herschel); "Sound an alarm" (Webber); Chorus, "We hear the dreadful call"; "O magnify the Lord" (Daniels); [*L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (Ashe & A. Ashe); [*Judas Maccabaeus*], Chorus, "See the conquering hero comes"; [Dead], March; *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

1802–3 Concerts

Twelve subscription concerts were presented, including three Choral Evenings, between November 17, 1802, and February 2, 1803. The *Bath Chronicle* (December 23, 1802) lamented the departure of the Leander brothers and Miss Parke on December 22, halfway through the concert series. Other than performing at Rauzzini's benefit performance of *Messiah*, Storace and Braham appeared only on December 29, 1802. Of particular importance is the presentation of Haydn's *The Seasons* on the Choral Evening of January 12, 1803.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Nancy] Storace and [John] Braham were scheduled for a few concerts. More frequently heard were [Maria] Parke, Miss Sharp, Miss Mortimer, Mrs. Second, Miss Coburn, Miss Daniels, Miss Coburn, Miss Parker, Miss Richardson, Mr. Denman, and Jonathan Neild. Although not named initially, the glee singers Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, and Doyle also took part in the concerts.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Robert] Lindley (cello), [John] Mahon (clarinet), Messrs. Leander (horn), Mr. Saust (flute, "for a few nights only"), Messrs. Schmidt & Waite (trumpet), Mssrs. Petrides (horns), Mrs. [Jane] Miles (pianoforte).

November 17, 1802

Repertoire not published.

*November 24, 1802****

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Song (Andrews); Song (Mortimer); Handel: 11th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Handel: [*Jeptha*] "Ye sacred priests" (Parke); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Mortimer); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Song (Parke); Full Piece.

*December 1, 1802****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Andrews); Song (Mortimer); Handel: 1st Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Clarinet Concerto (Mahon).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Andrews); Song (Mortimer); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Song (Sharp); Song (Parke); Full Piece.

December 8, 1802

First Choral Evening.
Repertoire not published.

*December 15, 1802****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Andrews); Song (Denman); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Song (Parke); Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*] ("by Particular Desire").
Act 2: Pianoforte Concerto (Miles); Song (Sharp); Song (Denman); Horn Duet (Leander & Leander); Song (Parke); Full Piece.

*December 22, 1802****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Denman); Song (Sharp); Horn Duet (Leander & Leander); Song (Second); Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture.
Act 2: Pleyel: Favourite Concertante; Song (Denman); Song (Sharp); Trio for 2 Horns & Pianoforte (Leander, Leander, & Miles); Song (Second); Full Piece.

*December 29, 1802****

Braham and Storace "for that night only."

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Denman): Song (Braham); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Storace); Sarti: Terzetto (Braham, Storace, & Denman).
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Ballad (Braham); Song (Sharp); Duet (Storace & Braham); Song (Denman); Concerto (?); Song (Storace); Full Piece.

January 5, 1803

This concert had been advertised initially as the second Choral Evening; however, preparations for the performance of *The Seasons*, by Haydn, must have taken longer than had been planned, and this concert was postponed until January 12, 1803.

*January 12, 1803****

Second Choral Evening.

Haydn: *The Seasons*. This performance marked Jonathan Neild's first appearance of the season.

*January 19, 1803****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Neild); Song (Coburn); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Daniels); Duet (Sharp & Neild).
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Neild); Flute Concerto (Saust); Song (Coburn); Song (Daniels); Full Piece.

*January 26, 1803****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Andrews); Song (Coburn); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Daniels); Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*] ("by Particular Desire").
Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Coburn); Trumpet Concerto (Schmidt); Song (Daniels); Full Piece.

February 2, 1803

This was presumably the final Choral Evening, and the twelfth concert. It does not appear to have been advertised, however.

1803–4 Concerts

There were twelve subscription concerts presented, including three Choral Evenings, between November 24, 1803, and February 8, 1804. The following list of performers is taken from an uncatalogued concert handbill found in the Bath Central Library.

Principal Vocal Performers: Madame Bolla, Signor Cimador, [Nancy] Storace, and [John] Braham were the principal singers. Other singers included Miss Sharp, Miss Andrews, [Maria] Parke, Miss George, Miss Griglietti, Mr. Welsh, Mr. Woodham, [Jonathan] Neild, and [Charles] Incledon. The glee singers included Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, and Doyle.
Principal Instrumental Performers: Mr. Richards (violin), Master Pinto (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), Mr. Saust (flute), Mr. Stainsbury (flute), Mr. [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), [Friedrich] Griesbac (oboe), Mr. Waite (trumpet), Mr. Wilkins (organ), and [Jane] Miles (pianoforte).

*November 23, 1803****

Act 1: Beethoven: New Overture (from manuscript); Webbe: New Glee, "The British Navy"; Cimarosa: Song (Griglietti); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Scena & Polacca (Bolla); Mozart: *The Magic Flute*, Overture.

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: Song (Griglietti); Gazzaniga: Scena & Rondo (Sharp); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Cimarosa: Aria (Bolla); Rauzzini: March.

November 30, 1803

The following is taken from an uncatalogued handbill at the Bath Central Library.

Act 1: Wranitsky: New Overture; Calcott: Glee, "Lone dweller of the rock" (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle); Andreozzi: Rondo, "Nel lasciarti o prence ingrato" (Miss George—"her first appearance in public"); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Martini: Scena & Polacca, "Povere Donne" & "La Donna ha dolce il core" (Bolla); Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*].

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Knyvett: Prize Glee, "Where the fair rose" (Cooke, Ashley, & Doyle); Weigle: "Laura sunk in tender sorrow" (?); Andreozzi: Scena, "Se il sol finor" & "Sovrani cosi amabili" (?Bolla); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Jadin: Buffa aria, "Se al financo m'assido" (?Bolla); Haydn: Full Piece.

*December 7, 1803****

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee; Song (Sharp); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Song (Bolla); Mozart: New Overture.

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Glee; Song (George); Song (Sharp); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Song (Bolla); Full Piece.

*December 14, 1803****

First Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel, *Judas Maccabeus*: Overture; Chorus, "Mourn ye afflicted children"; Recitative, "Well may your sorrow"; Duet, "From this dread scene" (George & Woodham); Recitative, "Not vain is all this storm" (Welsh); "Pious orgies" (Bolla); "Arm, arm ye brave" (Welsh); Chorus, "We come in bright array"; Recitative, "'Tis well my friends" (Woodham); Recitative, "To heaven's almighty King" (?); "O Liberty" (Sharp & Herschel); "Come ever-smiling Liberty" (Griglietti); Trio (Cooke, Woodham & Welsh); Cho-

rus, "Disdainful of dangers"; Oboe concerto (Griesback); Song (Bolla); Chorus, "Hear O Lord."

Act 2: [Handel: *Judas Maccabeus*]: Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; Recitative, "Victorious man" (?); Recitative, "O let eternal honour crown" (?); Aria, "From mighty Kings" (Sharp); Recitative, "My arms against this Gorgias" (?); "Sound an alarm" (Woodham); Chorus, "We hear the pleasing dreadful call"; ?: Violin & Cello Duet (J. Loder & Lindley); [Handel: *Judas Maccabeus*]: Recitative, "Enough to Heaven we leave" (?); Aria, "With pious hearts" (Welsh); Aria, "Wise men flatt'ring" (Andrews); Song (Bolla); Duet, "O never bow we down" (Bolla & Sharp); Chorus, "We never, never will bow down"; Aria, "So shall the flute and harp" (George); Chorus, "See the conquering Hero comes"; [Dead] March; Chorus, "Sing unto God."

*December 21, 1803****

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Woodham); Song (Welsh); Violin & Cello Duet (J. Loder & Lindley, repeated "by Particular Desire"); Rauzzini: Trio, "Aure amiche" (Sharp, Welsh, & Cimador); Aria (Bolla); Oboe Concerto (Griesbach).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Woodham); Song (Welsh); Florio: Duet (Sharp & Cimador); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Aria (Bolla); Full Piece.

December 28, 1803

Repertoire not advertised.

*January 4, 1804****

The identification of the Cimarosa and Paisiello works comes from a review found in the *Bath Herald* (January 7, 1804). The reviewer stated that the audience was smaller and less enthusiastic than it had been for the earlier appearance of Storace and Braham, although Neild and Parke were praised and were thought to be more than acceptable replacements. It is likely that the Haydn symphony that was performed in act 2 was no. 103 in E-flat major, "Drum Roll," since the reviewer mentions a solo drum at the beginning.

Act 1: Wranitsky: New Overture; Song (Griglietti); [Paisiello]: "Mentre il cascio" (Neild); Corelli: 8th Concerto [Grosso]; [Cimarosa]: "Il mio cor" (Parke); [Paisiello: Duet from *Elfrida*, "Caldi la mia ferita"] (Parke & Neild).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song, "O'er the hill and valley" (George); Song (Sharp); Flute Concerto (Saust); Song (Neild); Song (Parke); Full Piece.

*January 11, 1804****

Second Choral Evening.

[Act breaks not given] Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; [Purcell]: Song & Chorus, "Come if you dare" (Neild); [Handel: *Semele*], "Where e're you walk" (Griglietti); [*Joshua*], "Hark! 'tis the linnet" (George); [*Samson*], Chorus, "Fix'd in his everlasting seat"; Flute Concerto (Saust); [Handel: *Samson*], "Let the bright seraphim" (Andrews); [*L'Allegro, il penseroso ed il moderato*], "But oh! sad virgin" (Sharp & Herschel); [*Jeptha*], "Ye sacred priests" (Parke); [Boyce: *Solomon*], Aria, "Softly rise" (Neild), Chorus,"Ye southern breezes"; [Handel, *Israel in Egypt*], Double Chorus, "The Lord shall reign forever and ever." Excerpts from Haydn's *Creation* were also advertised, but no specific pieces were mentioned.

*January 18, 1804****

The repertoire shown in square brackets is taken from the review in the *Bath Herald* (January 21, 1804), where it states that the opening symphony was by Beethoven. This likely indicates that a change to the program was made after the initial advertising. There was much praise for the orchestra, although regret was expressed over Miss Sharp's continuing illness and inability to perform.

Act 1: Pleyel: Overture; [Stevens]: Glee: ["Some of my heroes"], (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle); [Andreozzi: "Ah quel anima"] (Neild); Gluck: Song (George); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); [Rauzzini: *L'eroe cinese*], Duet (Parke & Neild).

Act 2: Haydn: Military Overture [Symphony no. 100 in G major]; Glee ["O Strike the Harp"] (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle); Song (Neild); Pianoforte Concerto (Miles); [Cimarosa: "Ah serena"] (Parke); Song (George); Full Piece.

*January 25, 1804****

Although advertised, Miss Sharp continud to be indisposed. The repertoire shown in square brackets is taken from a review in the *Bath Herald* (January 28, 1804).

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; [Stevens: "Some of my heros"] (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle); Song (Neild); Song (Griglietti); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; [Handel: *Theodora*, "Angels ever bright and fair"] (Parke); Duet (Parke & Neild).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; [Handel: "Lord, remember David"] (Neild); Song (?); [Viotti]: Violin Concerto (Pinto); [Tarchi: "Nel lasciarti"] (George); Crouch: Motet, ["Me thinks I hear the full celestial choir"] (5 voices); Full Piece.

*February 1, 1804****

The repertoire shown in square brackets is taken from a review in the *Bath Herald* (February 4, 1804).

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; [Stevens]: Glee ["Ossian address to the sun" (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle)]; Gazzaniga: Song (Sharp); Song (Neild); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; [Caliegari: "Idol mio"] (Parke); [Marcello]: Duet ["Qual analante"] (Parke & Cimador).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Crouch: Motet, "Me thinks I hear the full celestial choir" (5 voices, "by Particular Desire"); Sarti: "Odi grand ombrio" (Neild); [Winter: *Calypso*], Duet (Parke & Cimador); Violin Concerto (Pinto); [Fiocchi: *Polacca*] (Parke); [Handel: *Athalia*, "Gentle airs, melodious strains!"] (Sharp); Full Piece.

February 8, 1804

Third Choral Evening.

The repertoire was not published for this concert, but a review in the *Bath Herald* (February 11, 1804) mentions the following: Handel: "In sweet harmony"; Arne: *Artaxerxes*, "A Soldier tir'd" (both sung by Parke); Florio: Duet, "Se mi credi" (Sharp & Cimador); a violin concerto (Pinto), and three choruses by Handel. Mrs. Miles had been scheduled to perform a piano concerto, but cancelled because of illness. Rauzzini unfortunately faced competition when the Harmonic Society changed its normal concert date because of the approach of Lent. As a result, there were two concerts and a formal ball held on the same evening. The *Bath Chronicle* (February 16, 1804) reported that Rauzzini's audience remained loyal and that the door receipts exceeded any previous Choral Evening.

1804–5 Concerts

There were twelve subscription concerts, including three Choral Evenings, between November 21, 1804, and February 13, 1805. Concerts began at 7:30 p.m.

Principal Vocal Performers: [Nancy] Storace and [John] Braham appeared for a few performances. Other singers included [Maria] Parke, [Jonathan] Neild, Miss Griglietti, Signor Morelli, Mr. Magrath, Mr. Miller, and Mrs. Second. The glee singers included Cooke, Ashley, Gray, and Doyle.

Principal Instrumental Performers: Mr. Richards (violin), Master Pinto (violin), Mr. Bingher (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), Mr. Stainsbury (flute), [Friedrich] Griesbac (oboe), [Josiah] Ashley (oboe), Mr. Wait (trumpet), MM. Hobbs & Cooke (horns), Mr. Wilkins (organ), Mr. Griffin (pianoforte), and [Jane] Miles (pianoforte).

*November 21, 1804**

Act 1: Mozart: New Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Terzetto (Parke, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Haydn: "Military" Overture [Symphony no. 100 in G major]; Song (Magrath); Buffo Duet (Parke & Morelli); Violin Concerto (Bingher, first appearance in Britain); Rondo (Parke); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Full Piece.

*November 28, 1804**

Mr. Miller's repertoire in act 1 is taken from the review in the *Bath Herald* (December 1, 1804). It was reported that the room was filled to overflowing even before the concert began, and that the concert was "Perfection."

Act 1: Mozart: New Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Handel: [*Samson*], "Honour and arms" (Miller, first appearance); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Buffa Aria (Morelli, who also directed the orchestra); Song (Second); Quartetto (Second, Magrath, Miller, & Morelli).

Act 2: Haydn: "Surprise" Symphony [no. 94 in G major]; Song (Magrath); Handel: [*Acis and Galatea*], "The flock shall leave the mountain" (Second, Magrath, & Miller); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Full Piece.

*December 5, 1804**

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle); Song (Griglietti); Song (Miller); Handel: Oboe Concerto; Buffa Aria (Morelli); Aria (Second); Guglielmi: Terzetto (Second, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Aria (George); Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Song (Second); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Full Piece.

December 12, 1804

First Choral Evening.

The review in the *Bath Herald* (December 15, 1804) states that Bingher's performance was much praised, and that the choral singing was "full, correct and spirited." The hall was filled to capacity.

Act 1: Selections from Haydn's *Creation*; Violin Concerto (Bingher).

Act 2: Handel: [*Ariodante*], Overture; [*Semele*], "Where e'er you walk" (Griglietti); [*Alexander's Feast*], "Softly sweet in Lydian measure" (George & Herschel), Chorus, "The many rend the skies"; Song, [?*Xerxes*], "Holy, holy" (Sharp); [*Israel in Egypt*], "The Lord is a man of war" (Doyle & Miller); [*Samson*], "Let the bright seraphim" (Second); [*Israel in Egypt*], Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

*December 19, 1804****

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, Doyle); Song (Griglietti); Mozart: *The Magic Flute*, Overture; Buffa Aria (Morelli); Song (Sharp).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle).

December 27, 1804

Change of concert date to a Thursday. Details of this concert were not published. This may have been the second Choral Evening although, if so, it followed hard upon the first such evening.

*January 2, 1805**

The identification of Neild's aria is taken from the review found in the *Bath Journal* (January 7, 1805). This review, and the one in the *Bath Herald* (January 5, 1805), reveal that the concert did not go as planned. Maria Parke was ill, although she performed some of her numbers. Nancy Storace made an unplanned appearance in the duet with Morelli by Paisiello. A duet from Braham's *The English Fleet* (likely "Vive le Roi") was also performed by Storace and Braham. The latter, along with Incledon's unscheduled appearance, delighted the audience. It is interesting to note that the *Bath Journal* claims that orchestra is now to be the best in the country.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Song (Griglietti); [Andreozzi: "Ah! quell'anima"] (Neild, first appearance that season);

Geminiani: Concerto [Grosso]; Buffa Aria (Morelli); Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Neild, & Morelli).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Sharp); Song (Neild); Violin Concerto (Pinto); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Song (Parke); Paisiello: Duet (Parke & Morelli); Full Piece.

*January 15, 1805**

The identification of the glee and Neild's aria by Handel is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (January 21, 1805).

Act 1: Beethoven: Overture (from manuscript); [Stevens]: Glee ["Some of my heroes are low"] (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Song (Neild); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Guglielmi: Song (Parke & Pinto); Cimarosa: Terzetto (Parke, Neild, & Morelli).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Sarti: Song (Sharp); [Handel: "Lord remember David"] (Neild); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Violin Concerto (Pinto, last appearance of the season); Song (Parke); Glees (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Full Piece.

*January 23, 1805**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Stevens: Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Song (Griglietti); Song (Neild); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Guglielmi: Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Neild, & Morelli).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Neild); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Piano Concerto (Miles); Song (Parke); Glees (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Full Piece.

*February 6, 1805**

Concert postponed to this date because the previous Wednesday fell on the celebration of King Charles's martyrdom. A review found in the *Bath Journal* (January 11, 1805) provides the title of the glee in act 1, and further reveals that all did not go as planned at the concert: Maria Parke continued to be ill and Miss Sharp took her place. The latter performed Rauzzini's ballad "Why my locks so yellow," to acclaim. Morelli, in his last appearance for the season, was encored in an air by Paisiello, and the slow movement of Bingher's violin concerto was also encored. That latter was considered to be highly unusual by the reviewer.

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Carter: Glee ["O Nanny wilt thou gang with me"] (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, Doyle); Ballad (Griglietti); Song (Magrath); Mozart: *The Magic Flute*, Overture; Song (Parke); Quartetto (Parke, Magrath, Miller, & Morelli).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Sharp); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Sarti: Buffa Terzetto (Parke, Magrath, & Morelli); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Ye sacred priests / Farewell, ye limpid springs" (Parke); Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Full Piece.

*February 13, 1805**

Third Choral Evening.

The general absence of choral singing in the second half of the concert is striking, although it is impossible to judge how many choruses were performed in act 1. The *Bath Journal* (February 18, 1805) commented on Maria Parke's recovery and her success at the concert. The review states that Mr. Griffin played a concerto of his own composition. Both Griglietti and Miller were judged to have considerable promise, although they were still novices on many levels. Indeed, Rauzzini had come to rely heavily on such young singers in the concerts. The reviewer ended his report with praise for Rauzzzini and the hope that he had made a profit on the series. This may indicate that there been a general concern over whether or not the series had been profitable. Rauzzzini offered one further subscription concert that season as a spring benefit for himself, perhaps an indication that the winter series had not turned a profit. The presence of Mrs. Billington at that concert was a considerable attraction for the audience.

Act 1: excerpts from Haydn's *Seasons*; [Griffin]: Piano Concerto (Griffin).

Act 2: Handel: *Atlantha*, Overture; [*Jephtha*], "The smiling dawn" (George); [*Joshua*], "Hark! 'Tis the linnet and the thrush" (George); [*Theodora*] "Angels ever bright and fair" (Parke); [*Samson*], "Honour and arms" (Miller); [*Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*], "What passions cannot music raise" (Sharp); Song (Magrath); [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; Violin Concerto (Bingher, "in which he will introduce some Russian airs with variations"); Arne: *Artaxerxes*, "The soldier tir'd" (Parke); [*Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*], Chorus, "As from the pow'r of sacred laws."

April 17, 1805

Spring benefit concert for Rauzzini; tickets were one guinea each. It is surprising to read that singer of Mrs. Billington's prestige took part in the performance of a glee.

Act 1: Haydn: Military Overture [Symphony no. 100 in G major]; Song (Sharp); Glee, "O Nanny" (Billington, Cook, Magrath, & Doyle); Buffa Aria (Morelli); J. C. Bach: *La Clemenza di Scipione*, Bravura Aria (Billington); Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; Sarti: Terzetto, "Che vi par Dorina" (soloists not named).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Magrath); Song (Billington); Duet (Sharp & Morelli); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Arne: *Artaxerxes*, "The soldier tir'd" (Billington).

1805–6 Concerts

There were twelve subscription concerts presented between November 20, 1805, and February 12, 1806, including three Choral Evenings. Concerts began at 7:30 p.m.*

Principal Vocal Performers: Nancy Storace & John Braham appeared at one subscription concert. Other singers included [Maria] Parke, Miss Sharp, Miss Andrews, Miss George, Miss Griglietti, [Mary] Ashe, [Jonathan] Neild, Mr. Magrath, Mr. Grady, and Signor Morelli. The glee singers included Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, and Doyle.

Principal Instrument Performers: Mr. Owens (violin), Mr. Bingher (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), Mr. Ashley[8] (bassoon), MM. Petrides (horns), [Joseph] Wölfl (pianoforte), and [Jane] Miles (pianoforte).

*November 20, 1805**

The *Bath Herald* (November 23, 1805) referred to Rauzzini's *Dirge* as the principal attraction of the concert, describing it as "a composition of the most sublime effect," especially as accompanied by a transparency of Nelson. Rauzzini's new ballad is not named, an unfortunate omission given that it was "loudly encored."

Act 1: Krommer: New Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Song (Griglietti); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Song (M. Ashe & Ashely); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Cherubini: New Overture; Song (Sharp); Rauzzini: *Dirge on the Death of Lord Nelson* (M. Ashe, Griglietti, Magrath, Cooke, Gray, & Doyle); Horn Duet (MM. Petrides); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Rauzzini: New Ballad (M. Ashe); [Arne: *Alfred*], "Rule Britannia" (Magrath & chorus).

*November 27, 1805**

The review in the *Bath Journal* (December 2, 1805) states that "the solemn dirge by Mr. Rauzzini drew tears of grateful sensibility from many for our fallen hero."

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee (Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Song (Griglietti), Handel: First Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (M. Ashe); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Guglielmi: Quartet (M. Ashe, Griglietti, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Winter: New Overture; Rauzzini: *Dirge on the Death of Lord Nelson* (M. Ashe, Griglietti, Magrath, Cooke, Gray, & Doyle); Song (Sharp); Concertante for 2 Horns (MM. Petrides); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe).

December 4, 1805

Act 1: Wiltz: New Overture; Glee, four voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Song (Griglietti); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: 5th Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (M. Ashe); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Cello Concerto (Lindley, last appearance that season); Song (M. Ashe); Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

*December 11, 1805**

First Choral Evening.

A "generous selection of works by Handel with chorus" was advertised, although none were specificed. A violin concerto was also to be performed by Mr. Owens.

December 18, 1805

Mary Ashe's final appearance for the season. The repertoire listed below is taken from an uncatalogued handbill at the Bath Central Library, which differs significantly from the advertised program. A note on the handbill reads: "Mr. Rauzzini being indisposed with a severe cold, most respectfully begs the Indulgence of the Audience to wear his Hat during this Evening's Performance."

Act 1: Beethoven: Overture; J. Wölfl: "Mourning Song . . . in Memory of the much lamented Death of Lord Nelson" (Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Cimarosa: Rondo, "Partirò dal caro bene" (Griglietti); Caruso: Buffa aria, "Che giorno d'Allegra" (Morelli); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Rauzzini: Ballad, "When Henry Died" (M. Ashe, "by Particular Desire"); Guglielmi: Quartet, "Perfido a questo accesso" (M. Ashe, Griglietti, Magrath, & Morelli)

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Rauzzini: *Dirge on the Death of Lord Nelson* (M. Ashe, Griglietti, Magrath, Cooke, Gray, & Doyle, "by Particular Desire"); Scena, "Se il sol finor" & "Sovrani cosi amabili" (Sharp); Handel: [*Jephtha*], "His mighty arm with sudden blow" (Magrath); Cimarosa: [*Il Maestro di Capella*], Buffa Aria, "Se mi danno il permesso" (Morelli); Violin Concerto (Owens); Handel: [*?Xerxes*], "Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty" (M. Ashe); Horsley: Glee, Mine be a cot beside a hill" ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]). The advertised program ended with a Full Piece, but this is not included in the handbill for the concert.

*January 1, 1806**

The only appearance of Nancy Storace and John Braham this season, apart from their performance in Rauzzini's benefit performance of *Messiah* on December 24. The two pieces from Stephen Storace's *The English Fleet* likely demonstrates the need to present patriotic works.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Song (Griglietti); Duet (Storace & Braham); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Braham); Song (Storace); Terzetto (Storace, Braham, & Morelli).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Braham: *The English Fleet*, "Vive le Roi" (Storace & Braham); Song (Sharp); Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Deeper and deeper still" (Braham); Buffa Duet (Storace & Morelli); Violin Concerto (Owens); Braham: *The English Fleet*, "Little Jane" (Storace) & "Young Henry" (Braham); Quartet (?); Full Piece.

*January 8, 1806**

Act 1: Wranitsky: New Overture; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Song (Griglietti); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Duet (Griglietti & Morelli); Violin Concerto (Owen).

Act 2: Haydn: Overture; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Piano Concerto (Miles, listed as her final performance in Bath[9]); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

*January 13, 1806**

Second Choral Evening.

Act 1: Rauzzini: *Requiem*

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; [*Acis and Galatea*], "Consider fond shepherd" (Griglietti); Song (Sharp); Boyce: [*Solomon*], Aria, "Softly rise" (Neild), Chorus, "Ye southern breezes"; Piano Concerto (Wölfl); Handel: [*Theodora*], "Angels ever bright and fair" (Parke); Song (Neild); [Handel]: *Messiah*, "Glory to God."

*January 22, 1806**

Act 1: Haydn: "Military" Symphony [no. 100 in G major]; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Song (Griglietti); Song (Neild); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

Act 2: Wölfl: New Overture; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Song (Neild). Piano Concerto (Wölfl, advertised as his last appearance for the season); Song (Parke); Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

*January 29, 1806**

Mr. Wölfl was able to extend his visit, and takes part in the concert.

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Song (Griglietti); Song (Neild); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Terzetto (Parke, Magrath, & Neild).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Oft on a plat" (Neild); [?Wölfl:], Piano Sonata, "The Storm" (Wölfl); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

*February 5, 1806**

Act 1: Mozart: Overture; Calcot: Glee, "The Erl King" ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle], "by Particular Desire"); Song (Griglietti); Song (Neild); Handel: Oboe Concerto; Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Magrath, & Neild).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Song (Neild); Violin concerto (Bingher); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

*February 12, 1806**

Third Choral Evening.

A review in the *Bath Journal* (February 17, 1806) commented that Rauzzini had assembled the "most numerous and complete instrumental and choral band in the Kingdom. . . . Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the liberality of the Scientific Conductor of the elegant concerts."

Act 1: Selections from Haydn's *Creation*.

Act 2: Handel: Occasional Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Parke); Handel: [*Judas Maccabeus*], "Sound an alarm" (Grady); Chorus, "We hear, we hear"; "Pious Orgies" (Miss Nicholson, from Liverpool—first appear-

ance); [*Joshua*], "Hark! 'Tis the linnet and the thrush" (Griglietti); Double Chorus; Violin Concerto (Bingher); Arne: *Artaxerxes*, "The soldier tir'd" (Parke); [Handel: *Israel in Egypt*], Double Chorus, "The Lord shall reign forever and ever."

1806–7 Concerts

There were twelve subscription concerts presented between November 19, 1806, and February 13, 1807, including three Choral Evenings. Concerts began at 7:30 p.m.*

Principal Vocal Performers: [Giuseppe] Naldi (of the King's Theatre), [Nancy] Storace and [John] Braham were the principal singers. Naldi appeared only at the first concert, while Storace and Braham sang only at Rauzzini's benefit concert of *Messiah*, and at the concert of December 31. The glee singers Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, and Doyle were highlighted in the advertisements. Several of these glee singers also performed as vocal soloists. The other singers included [Mary] Ashe, Miss Sharp, [Maria] Parke, Mrs. Windsor, Signor Morelli, Mr. Magrath, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Bennett.

Principal Instrumental Performers: Mr. Bingher (violin), Master Gattie (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), Mr. Ashley (bassoon), MM. Petrides (horns), [Joseph] Wölfl (pianoforte), and Miss Richards (pianoforte).

*November 19, 1806**

Signor Naldi's only appearance that season. The review in the *Bath Journal* (November 24, 1806) remarked that the music of Mozart and Beethoven was performed in "a very spirited manner" by the orchestra.

Act 1: Beethoven: New Overture; Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Concertante for Two Horns (MM. Petrides); Rondo (M. Ashe); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Aria (Naldi); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Naldi, & Morelli).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Morelli); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Ballad (M. Ashe); Aria (Naldi); "The favourite echo on French Horns" (MM. Petrides); Full Piece.

*November 26, 1806**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Song (Magrath); Concertante for Two Horns (MM. Petrides); Buffa Aria

(Morelli); Song (M. Ashe); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: "The favourite echo on French Horns" (MM. Petrides); Song (Sharp); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Full Piece.

*December 19, 1806**

Master Gattie, a ten-year-old violist, makes his first appearance.

Act 1: Mozart: Grand Overture; R. J. S. Stevens: Glee, "Some of my heroes" ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]); Song (Magrath); Song (George); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Buffa Aria (Morelli); Song (M. Ashe); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Bennett, making his first appearance at the concerts); Song (Sharp); Violin Concerto (Gattie); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Full Piece.

*December 10, 1806**

First Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel: Occasional Overture; Song (Gray); Song (Magrath); Handel: [*Saul*], "In sweetest harmony" (M. Ashe), Chorus: "O fatal day"; First Grand Concerto [Grosso]; [*Jephtha*], "Ye sacred Priests / Farewell, ye limpid springs" (M. Ashe); [*Ode to Saint Cecilia*], Grand Chorus.

Act 2: Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; Haydn: *Creation* [Song] (Doyle); Handel: [*Acis and Galatea*], "Love in her eyes" (Bennett); Handel: [Solo Anthem], "Lord remember David" (Sharp); Mozart: Motet; Violin Concerto (Gattie); Song (McGrath); Pergolesi: "O Lord have mercy" (Ashe); Haydn: *Creation*, Chorus, "The Heavens are telling."

*December 17, 1806**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 3 voices; Song (McGrath); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Ashe); Trio (Ashe, McGrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Buffo Aria (Morelli); Violin Concerto (Gattie, last performance of the season); Song (M. Ashe); Handel: Glee, 3 voices; Full Piece.

*December 31, 1806**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]); Song (Magrath); Buffa Duet (Storace & Morelli); Aria (Braham); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Aria (Storace); Terzetto (Storace, Braham, & Morelli).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Rauzzini: "The Battle of Maida" (Braham); Buffa Aria (Morelli); Duet (Storace & Braham); Piano Concerto (Richards); Song (Storace); Song (Braham); Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]); Full Piece.

*January 7, 1807**

Miss Sharp's composition was admired by the reviewer of the *Bath Journal* (January 12, 1807), who also wrote that Bingher's playing was so appreciated that a movement of his concerto was encored. The title of Miss Sharp's other song is also taken from this review.

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]); Song (Magrath); Song (Morelli); Handel: Oboe Concerto; Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Magrath, & Morelli).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Bennett); Song ["Tu m'abandanna"] (Sharp); [Sharp: Pollacca] (Sharp); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Song (Magrath); Song (Parke); Glee, 3 voices; Full Piece.

*January 14, 1807**

Second Choral Evening. There was little choral singing in this concert.

Act 1: Handel: *Esther*, Overture; [*Judas Maccabeus*], Chorus, "Fallen is the foe"; [*Samson*], "Honour and Arms" (Doyle); [?Cooke]: "Daughter of Jove" (Windsor); Boyce: [*Solomon*], Aria, "Softly rise" (Magrath), Chorus, "Ye southern breezes"; Handel: [*Theodora*], "Angels ever bright and fair" (Parke); [*Israel in Egypt*], Chorus, "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever."

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; *Acis and Galatea*, "Consider fond shepherds" (Sharp), "Full rage" (Bennett); [*Israel in Egypt*], "Thou didst blow" (Windsor); *Acis and Galatea*, Trio, "The flocks shall leave the mountains" (Parke, Magrath, & Doyle); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Vinci: [*Artaserse*], "Vo solcando un mar crudele"(?); Handel: Coronation Anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

January 21, 1807

Repertoire found on an uncatalogued handbill at the Bath Central Library. The turnout for the concert was disappointing because of bad weather and the death of a prominent member of society, Mrs. Dutton, according to the

Bath Journal of January 26, 1807. To commemorate the latter, Rauzzini added Harrington's elegy, "O Thou, whose notes could oft remove," to the program.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Harrington: Glee, "O, Thou whose notes" (Magrath, Gray, & Doyle, "by Particular Desire"); Gazzaniga: "Puoi negarmi il ben che adoro" (Magrath); J. C. Bach: *La Clemenza di Scipione*, "Confusa, abbandonnata" (Windsor); Wölfl: Piano Concerto (Richards); Guglielmi: Scena, "Non promessa" & "Sommo Dio!" (Parke); [Rauzzini]: Terzetto, "Dolce vita, idolo mio" (Parke, Windsor, & Magrath).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Farinelli: Scena, "Lascia una volta" & "Sento una dolce" (Sharp); Rauzzini: "Oh Dei! che dolce incanto" (Bennett); Mozart: *Don Giovanni*, "In quali eccessi" & "Mi tradi" (Windsor); Attwood: "In seclusion's sacred bow'r" (Magrath); Ferrari: *Il Fanatico per la musica*, "Qual dolce idea l'anima" & "Le belle me speranze" (Parke, accompanying herself at the keyboard); Danby: Glee, "Awake, Æolian lyre" (Magrath, Ashley, Gray, & Doyle); Full Piece.

*January 28, 1807**

Act 1: Haydn: "Military" Symphony [no. 100 in G major]; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Song (Doyle); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Bennett); Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Windsor, & Magrath).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Windsor); [?Wölfl]: Piano Concerto, "The Calm" (Wölfl); Song (Magrath); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Full Piece.

*February 4, 1807**

Act 1: Beethoven: Overture; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Song (Doyle); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Rauzzini: Terzetto (Parke, Windsor, & Magrath).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Windsor); [?Wölfl]: Grand Sonata for Pianoforte with variations (Wölfl); Song (Magrath); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, & Doyle]; Song (Doyle); Full Piece.

February 13, 1807

Third choral evening. Concert delayed because Ash Wednesday fell on the scheduled day. The repertoire was not advertised.

1807–8 Concerts

A major change was introduced into the series, with only nine subscription concerts being offered, two of which were to be Choral Evenings. The series lasted from November 25, 1807, until January 27, 1708. Concerts began at 7:30 p.m.*

Principal Vocal Performers: [Giuseppe] Naldi (of the King's Theatre), [Nancy] Storace, and [John] Braham were given top billing, although they appeared only at Rauzzini's benefit concert of *Messiah*, and the concert of December 30. Other singers included Miss Sharp, [Mary] Ashe, Mrs. Windsor, [Fanny Rose] Melville, [Maria] Parke, Mr. Magrath, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Doyle, and Master White. The glee singers Cooke, Ashley, and Taylor, were also present.

Principal Instrument Performers: Mr. Bingher (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), Mr. Purkis (flageolet), [Joseph] Wölfl (pianoforte), and Miss Richards (pianoforte).

*November 25, 1807**

The identification of the bracketed repertoire is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (November 20, 1807, where it is reported that bad weather discouraged the audience from attending the concert. Fewer than five hundred attended this first concert, making for a disappointing start to the season.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; [Shield: "'Tis in rain"] (Magrath); Duet (M. Ashe & Naldi); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); ["Ah! Spiritar come te"] (Sharp); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Naldi, & Magrath).

Act 2: Cherubini: New Overture; [Rauzzini: Ballad, "Cold was the wind"] (M. Ashe); Buffa Aria (Naldi); Cello Concerto (Lindley); [Ferrari]: *Il Fanatico per la musica*, Duet (M. Ashe & Naldi); [Attwood]: Glee, "In peace, love tunes the Shepherd's reed" ([Cooke, Ashley, Taylor, ?Doyle, accompanied by Mrs. Windsor at the piano]); Full Piece.

*December 2, 1807**

The bracketed repertoire is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (December 7, 1807), where it was reported that the attendance at this concert was good, but that Romberg's music was of uneven quality. Rauzzini's music was much appreciated, and the reviewer regretted that this was to be Lindley's last appearance of the season.

Act 1: Romberg: New Overture; Mazzinghi: Glee, 3 voices ["Ah! Shepherds tell me"] (Cooke, Ashley, & Taylor]); Rauzzini: "Ah! Sia di giorni miei!"

(Bennett); Handel: *Berenice*, Overture; [Rauzzini: Ballad, "The False Shepherd"] (M. Ashe); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Bennett, & Magrath).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; [Caruso: Recitative & Rondo] (Sharp); Song (Magrath); Cello Concerto (Lindley, his last appearance for the season); [Arne: *Comus*, "Sweet echo"] (M. Ashe & A. Ashe); Glee, 4 voices (Cooke, ?Doyle, Ashley, and Taylor).

*December 9, 1807**

The bracketed repertoire is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (December 14, 1807) where it is reported that over seven hundred people attended the concert in spite of the continuing bad weather. The performance of the Mozart overture was praised, as was Mary Ashe for her expressive singing in Rauzzini's ballad. While the reviewer remarked on the improvements in Mrs. Windsor's singing, he thought that she was better suited to bravura singing than to ballads.

Act 1: Mozart: New Overture; Glee, 3 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, & Taylor]); [Rauzzini: Aria from one of his operas (Mrs. Windsor)]; Rauzzini: Ballad, "Sweet Ellen, sorrow's child" (M. Ashe, "by Particular Desire"); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Andreozzi: Terzetto (M. Ashe, Bennett, & Magrath).

Act 2: Winter: Overture; Song (Sharp); [Winter: *Il ratto di Prosperina*], Terzetto (M. Ashe, Bennett, & Magrath); Ballad (Windsor); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, ?Doyle, Ashley, & Taylor]; Full Piece.

*December 16, 1807**

First Choral Evening.

Act 1: Handel: Occasional Overture; Rauzzini: *Cymbeline*, "Dirge" (M. Ashe, Bennett, & Doyle); Haydn: [*Creation*], "Now Heaven in fullest glory" (Doyle); Boyce: [*Solomon*], Aria, "Softly rise" (Magrath), Chorus"; Handel: "He was eyes unto the blind" (Fanny Rose Melville, first appearance at concerts); Piano Concerto (Richards); Song, "O Lord have mercy" (M. Ashe); Handel: *Ode to St. Cecilia*, Grand Chorus.

Act 2: Jomelli: The Favourite Chaconne; Bianchi: Anthem (Sharp); Handel: "Love her eyes sits playing" (Bennett); Mozart: *Requiem*, Quartet, "Blessed is he" (M. Ashe, Magrath, Bennett, & Doyle); Handel: [*Hercules*], "Daughter of Gods" (Windsor); Handel: [*Semele*], "Where'er you walk" (Melville); Mozart: Motet; Violin Concerto (Bingher); Arne: [*Comus*], "Sweet echo" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe); Haydn: *Creation*, Chorus, "The Heavens are telling."

*December 30, 1807**

The bracketed repertoire is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (January 4, 1808). This review is quite extended, likely because of the presence of Storace and Braham. Such was their drawing power that there was an overflow audience, with some members forced to sit in the lobby. The two singers were enthusiastically encored in the duet by Winter, although the reviewer did not think that some of Storace's choices were appropriate for concert use. That said, her performance of Purcell's "Mad Bess" was praised, and Braham's singing was much appreciated.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture [Symphony no. 94 in G major, "Surprise"]; Glee ([Cooke, Ashley, & Taylor]; Shield: Song (Bennett); Piano Concerto (Richards); [Recitative & Aria, "Principessa son io"] (Storace); [Rauzzini: "Battle of Maida"] (Braham); [Winter: *Il triomfo del amor fraterno*], Duet (Storace & Braham).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture [*The Magic Flute*]; [Farinelli: "Sento una dolce voce"] (Sharp); [Handel: *Jephtha*, "Deeper and deeper still"] (Braham); Duet (Storace & Braham); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Song ["For my heart beats a pit a pat"; Purcell: "Mad Bess"] (Storace); Braham: "Said a smile to a tear" ([Braham, accompanying himself at the piano]); Full Piece.

*January 6, 1808**

Act 1: Haydn: "Military" Overture [Symphony no. 100 in G major]; Glee, 3 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, & Taylor]); Song (McGrath); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Trio (Parke, Windsor, & McGrath).

Act 2: Mozart: *The Magic Flute*, Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Windsor); [?Wölfl]: Piano Concerto (Wölfl); Song (Parke); Glee, 3 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, & Taylor]); Full Piece.

*January 13, 1808**

Act 1: Wölfl: New Overture; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, ?Doyle, Ashley, & Taylor]); Song (Bennett); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Melville); Solo on the Double Flageolet (Purkis); Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Windsor, & Bennett).

Act 2: Méhul: *The Chace* [Overture to *La Chasse du jeune Henri*]; Song (Sharp); Sanderson: Ballad, "The Cottage on the Moor" (Melville); [Wölfl]: Piano Sonata, "Ne plus ultra" (Wölfl); Song (Parke); Glee, 3 voices ([Cooke, Ashley, & Taylor]; Full Piece.

*January 20, 1808****

The advertisement in the *Bath Journal* states that a concerto by Mozart opened the second act. The program as listend in the *Bath Herald* seems more likely given that Mr. Wölfl played another concerto in that same act.

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, ?Doyle, Ashley, & Taylor]); Song (Magrath); Song (Windsor); Violin Concerto (Bingher); Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Windsor, & Magrath).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Windsor); [Wölfl]: Piano Concerto, "The Calm" (Wölfl); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices ([Cooke, ?Doyle, Ashley, & Taylor]; Full Piece.

*January 27, 1808**

Second Choral Evening.

The *Bath Journal* (February 1, 1808) reported that a Master White also made his first appearance in the concerts, singing "Let me wander" from Handel's *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*. The identification of Parke's aria in act 1 is also taken from this review.

Act 1: Jomelli: Favourite Chaconne; Purcell: Music from *The Tempest*; Haydn: *The Seasons*, Chorus, "Come gentle Spring"; Aria, "With eagerness the husbandman" (Doyle); Mozart: *Requiem*, Quartet, "Blessed is he" (Parke, Magrath, Bennett, & Doyle); [Ferrari: *Il Fanatico per la musica*], Aria (Parke, accompanying herself at the piano); Song (Windsor, accompanying herself at the piano); Haydn: *The Seasons*, Chorus, "Joyful, the liquor flows."

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; [*Sosarme*], "Lord remember David" (Sharp); Song (Bennett); Handel: [*Judas Maccabeus*], "Pious orgies" (Melville) & Chorus, "O Father, whose Almighty power"; [*Saul*], "In sweetest harmony" (Parke) & Chorus, "O fatal day"; Song (Windsor); Song (Magrath); [*Jephtha*], "Ye sacred Priests / Farewell, ye limpid springs" (Parke); Trio (Magrath, Bennett, & Doyle); Handel: *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

1808–9 Concerts

Nine subscription concerts were offered between November 30, 1808, and January 25, 1809, of which two were to be Choral Evenings. Concerts began at 7:30 p.m.*

Principal Vocal Performers: [Giuseppe] Naldi (of the King's Theatre), [Nancy] Storace, and [John] Braham were given top billing in the advertisements. The season was billed as Nancy Storace's final concerts in Bath. Braham lingered in Bath after Storace left, performing in a subsequent concert. Other singers included Miss Sharp, [Mary] Ashe, Mrs. Windsor, [Fanny Rose] Melville, [Maria] Parke, Mr. Magrath, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Doyle, Mr. Garbett, and Mr. Horn. The glee singers Cooke, Ashley, and Taylor, were not listed in the advertisements, but may still have been there.

Principal Instrumental Performers: Master Gattie (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Alexander] Herschel (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), Miss Richards (pianoforte), and [Samuel] Wesley (organ).

*November 30, 1808**

The bracketed repertoire is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (December 5, 1808), where it is stated that Bennett's Polacca had been favourably received, and that it stood a good chance of becoming a favourite with audiences. Farinelli's duet was well performed by Sharp and Magrath, and the reviewer praised their "great taste and judgement." Naldi fared less well, however, when it came to singing in English, and his performance of an aria from Haydn's *Creation* was judged to be unintelligible. A Miss Darby (a student of Naldi) also sang in the concert. Her appearance may have been a late addition to the program since she is not mentioned in the advertisements. The highlight of the evening for the reviewer was Mary Ashe's performance of a new ballad by Rauzzini which the reviewer wished had been placed earlier in the evening. Unfortunately, no title was given.

Act 1: Wranitsky: New Overture; [Bennett: Polacca] (Bennett); [Farinelli]: Duet (Sharp & Magrath); [Haydn: *Creation*], Aria (Naldi); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Song (Magrath); Terzetto (M. Ashe; Naldi, & ?).

Act 2: Mozart: New Overture; Song (Magrath); Song (Sharp); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Buffa Aria (Naldi); [Rauzzini]: Ballad (M. Ashe); Full Piece.

December 7, 1808

A surprisingly negative review of this concert appeared in the *Bath Journal* (December 12, 1808) which states that the concert was poorly attended and that selection of pieces lacked variety. Furthermore, the orchestra played too loudly for some of the soloists. The reviewer praised Lindley's cello concerto that contained popular airs in the slow movement, but found the performer's tone wanting. While Mr. and Mrs. Ashe performed the famous "Sweet bird" by

Handel well, the reviewer objected to their cadenza as "stale frippery" and "ill suited to the subject." Miss Melville was judged to have improved greatly, now that she was studying regularly with Rauzzini. The identification of her song is taken from this review.

Act 1: Wranitsky: "Favourite" Overture; Glee, 3 voices; Song (Magrath); Song (M. Ashe); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Duet (M. Ashe & Magrath).
Act 2: Winter: Overture; [Cimarosa: "Ah! tornar la bella Aurora"] (Melville); Song (Sharp); Duet (Melville & Magrath); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Sweet bird" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe, "by Particular Desire"); Glee, 3 voices; Full Piece.

*December 14, 1808**

Act 1: Haydn: "Military" Overture [Symphony no. 100 in G major]; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Bennett); Song (M. Ashe); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Bennett, & Magrath).
Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Magrath); Ballad (M. Ashe); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Handel: Song (M. Ashe); Glee (4 voices); Full Piece.

*December 21, 1808**

First Choral Evening.
Act 1: Cramer: Overture; Song (Garbett); Song (Doyle); Arne: *Artaxerxes*, Duet, "Fair Aurora" (Melville & Magrath); Mozart: 1st Motet; Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Haydn: Song (Melville); Song (Bennett); Song (M. Ashe & Herschel, vlc.); Mozart: 2nd Motet ("New").
Act 2: Jomelli: The Favourite Chaconne; Haydn: *Creation*, Recitative, "And God made the firmament" & Chorus, "The marvellous work beholds amazed"; Bianchi: Song (Sharp); Damer: Song (Magrath); Haydn: *The Tempest*, Chorus; Piano Concerto (Richards); [Arne: *Comus*], "Sweet echo" (M. Ashe & A. Ashe); Mozart: *Requiem*, Quartet, "Blessed is he" (M. Ashe, Garbett, Magrath, & Doyle); Haydn: *Creation*, Chorus, "The Heavens are telling."

December 28, 1808

The repertoire for this concert was not advertised, and what is known comes from a review. The *Bath Journal* (January 2, 1809) reports that the attendance was very high, likely because both Storace and Braham performed. Both singers were praised by the reviewer. Braham "never exerted his amazing power

with better success" than in his own song, "Said a smile to a tear." Nancy Storace sang one of her favourite songs, "With lowly suit" from Stephen Storace's *No Song, no Supper*. Young Master Gattie again performed a violin concerto, but this did not please, being "too chromatic to be relished by the audience." The reviewer expressed the hope that he "will make a better choice next Wednesday and select a more pleasing Concerto." The comments on the choice of concerto may indicate just how the tastes of the Bath audiences had changed with the passing of time.

*January 4, 1809**

The review in the *Bath Journal* (January 9, 1809) reported a good attendance in spite of bad weather. Braham's performance was much applauded, and the audience was pleased to welcome Maria Parke and Mrs. Windsor back to the concerts.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Magrath); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; [Braham]: "Death of Abercrombie" (Braham); Song (Parke); Duet (Parke & Braham).
Act 2: Weber: New Overture; Ballad (Melville); Handel: [*Jephtha*], "Deeper and deeper still" (Braham); Violin Concerto (Gattie); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices; Full Piece.

*January 11, 1809**

Rauzzini too ill to conduct this concert. Attendance was very poor because of inclement weather (*Bath Journal*, January 23, 1809). The same source reports the repertoire shown in brackets. The reviewer notes that Mrs. Windsor's style had much improved through her studies with Rauzzini, and that Miss Parke sang her Polacca twice to save the audience the trouble of demanding an encore! Most surprising is the account of Rauzzini being so ill that he was unable to be present and that Mr. Windsor directed the concert in his absence, an "absence [that] seemed to throw a gloom over everything." This appears to be only the second time in Rauzzini's Bath career that he had missed one of his concerts.

Act 1: Wranitsky: New Overture; Glee, 4 voices; [Andreozzi]: Song (Bennett); Duet (Sharp & Magrath); Handel: Second Oboe Concerto; Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Bennett, & Magrath).
Act 2: Weber: New Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Magrath); [Nasolini]: Song (Windsor); Violin Concerto (Gattie, last appearance for the season); [Parke: Polacca] (Parke); Glee. 4 voices; Full Piece.

*January 18, 1809**

Mr. Horn's first appearance in the Bath concerts.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 four voices; Song (Bennett); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Guglielmi: Quartet (Parke, Windsor, Horn, & Doyle).
Act 2: Weber: New Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Horn); Piano Concerto (Richards); Song (Parke); Glee, 4 voices; Full Piece.

January 25, 1809

Second Choral Evening.

The review in the *Bath Journal* (January 30, 1809) commented on the fact that Rauzzini continued to be unwell, but that he had found the strength to conduct the concert. Wesley's organ improvisation appears to have been the most appreciated item on the program and he "made the organ speak such wondrous things." The reviewer also lamented the lack of decorum in the audience which began to leave the Assembly Rooms before the concert had concluded so that they could avoid the long lines of people waiting for their carriages. It should also be noted that solo singing predominated over choral singing in the concert.

Act 1: Handel: Occasional Overture; Purcell: Music for the *Tempest*, plus a chorus by Thomas Linley, Jr.; Song (Bennett); Song (Melville); Mozart: 2nd Motet; Song (Windsor); Song (Doyle); Song (Parke); Handel: [*Samson*], Chorus, "Fix'd in his everlasting seat."
Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; Funeral Anthem (Windsor); Quartet (Parke, Garbett, Bennett, & Doyle); Handel: *Saul*, "Dead March"; Song (Melville); Handel: [*Saul*], Chorus, "How excellent thy Name"; Song (Parke); Handel: [*Judas Maccabeus*], Trio, "Disdainful of danger" (Garbett, Bennett, & Doyle); Organ improvisation (Samuel Wesley); Handel: *Messiah*, Chorus, "Hallelujah."

1809–10 Concerts

Nine subscription concerts were offered between November 29, 1809, and January 31, 1810, of which two were to be Choral Evenings. Concerts began at 7:30 p.m.*

Principal Vocal Performers: The highlighted singers were [Angelica] Catalani (for one concert only) and [John] Braham (from January 10 to the end

of the season). Other singers included [Maria Caroline] Dickons, Miss Sharp, Miss Darby, [Mary] Ashe, [Maria] Parke, Miss Melville, Mrs. Windsor, Mr. Magrath, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Doyle, and Mr. Garbett.

Principal Instrumental Performers: [Felix] Yaniewicz [Feliks Janiewicz] (violin); Mr. Loder (violin), [Robert] Lindley (cello), [Andrew] Ashe (flute), Mr. Neate (pianoforte), and Miss Richards (pianoforte).

*November 29, 1809**

The brevity of this concert is striking when compared with previous seasons.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Magrath); Ballad (Windsor); Flute concerto (A. Ashe); Scene & Aria (Catalani).

Act 2: Méhul: Overture; Song (Melville); Aria (Catalani); Cello Concerto (Lindley); Aria (Catalani).

*December 6, 1809**

The *Bath Journal* (December 11, 1809) reports that the second concert was well attended, and that Maria Parke's performances were much applauded.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Magrath); Song (Windsor); Flute Concerto (A. Ashe); Song (Parke); Terzetto (Parke, Windsor, & Magrath).

Act 2: Winter: New Overture; Song (Darby); Glee, 4 voices, Cello Concerto (Lindley); Song (Parke); Glee; Full Piece.

*December 13, 1809**

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Magrath); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Melville); Song (Parke); Magrath: Terzetto (Parke, Windsor, & Magrath).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Darby); Piano Concerto (Richards); Song (Parke); Glee; Full Piece.

*December 20, 1809**

First Choral Evening.

The repertoire for Mr. Magrath and Mrs. Windsor is taken from the review in the *Bath Journal* (December 25, 1809). Mrs. Windsor's performances were particularly enjoyed, and Loder's violin concerto was found to be "repleat with

taste, execution, brilliancy of tone and expression, and equal to any of our first performers." The choral singing was also praised for its boldness.

Act 1: Handel: Occasional Overture; [*Saul*], Chorus, "How excellent thy Name"; Song (Doyle); ["I will give thanks"] (Windsor); Mozart: 2nd Motet; Haydn: *La Passione* [*The Seven Last Words Of Our Saviour On The Cross*], Quartet (Parke, Garbett, Magrath, & Doyle); Handel: [*Judas Maccabeus*], "Pious orgies" (Darby); [?Attwood: "Teach me O Lord"] (Magrath); [*Jephtha*], "Ye sacred priests / Farewell, ye limpid springs"(Parke); [*Israel in Egypt*], Chorus, "He gave them hailstones for rain."

Act 2: Handel: *Ariadne* [*Ariodante*], Overture; Song (Sharp); Haydn: [*The Tempest*], Chorus; Song (Melville); Duet (Parke & Magrath); Handel: [*Samson*], "Let the bright seraphim" (Windsor); Violin Concerto (Loder); Arne: [*Artaxerxes*], "The soldier tir'd" (Parke); Handel: [Coronation Anthem], "*Zadok the Priest.*"

*December 27, 1809**

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Magrath); Song (Windsor); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Parke); Guglielmi: Quartet (Parke, Windsor, Magrath, & Doyle).

Act 2: Mozart: Overture; Song (Sharp); Duet (Parke & Magrath); Piano Concerto (Neate); Song (Parke); Glee, 3 voices; Full Piece.

*January 10, 1810**

Because John Braham could not leave his Dublin commitments in time to arrive for Rauzzini's scheduled benefit performance of *Messiah*, Rauzzini postponed his benefit until January 10, 1810. This concert presented a mixed vocal and orchestral program similar to those of the subscription series. Indeed, it appears to have replaced the scheduled sixth concert in the series.

Act 1: Haydn: "Military" Overture [Symphony no. 100 in G major]; Glee, 4 voices; Mozart: Duet (Melville & Magrath); Ballad (M. Ashe); Terzetto (Darby, Magrath, & Bennett); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (Braham); Song (Dickons); Guglielmi: Quartet (Dickons, Windsor, Braham, & Doyle).

Act 2: Wranitsky: Overture; Mozart: Quartet (Sharp, Magrath, Garbett, & Doyle); [?Mozart]: Duet (Dickons & Braham); Violin Concerto (Yaniewicz); Song (Dickons); Song (Braham); Glee, 4 voices; Full Piece.

*January 17, 1810**

Act 1: Wranitsky: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Bennett); Song (Melville); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (M. Ashe); Song (Braham); Duet (M. Ashe & Braham).

Act 2: Winter: Overture; Song (Braham); Terzetto (M. Ashe, Magrath, & Bennett); Violin Concerto (Yaniewicz); Song (M. Ashe); Song (Braham); Glee, 3 voices; Full Piece.

*January 24, 1810**

Advertised as Braham's last appearance for the season, although he was able to extend his stay in Bath.

Act 1: Haydn: Overture; Glee, 4 voices; Song (Magrath); Song (Melville); Handel: Grand Concerto [Grosso]; Song (M. Ashe); Song (Braham); Duet (M. Ashe & Braham).

Act 2: Wranitsky: Overture; Song (Sharp); Song (Braham); Duet (Melville & Braham); Piano Concerto (Richards); Song (M. Ashe); Song (Braham); Glee, 3 voices; Full Piece.

*January 31, 1810**

Second Choral Evening.

The last subscription concert under Rauzzini's direction. That Rauzzini should perform his own Requiem music at the last concert under his direction is a rather chilling coincidence.

Act 1: Handel: *Messiah*, selections (Ashe, Windsor, Melville, Braham, Magrath, Garbett, & Doyle).

Act 2: Rauzzini: *Requiem*, Overture & Kyrie; Bianchi: Anthem (Sharp); Pergolesi: Song (Bennett); Handel: [*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*], "Hyde me from day's garish eye" (Melville), "Let me wander not unseen" (Darby); Handel: [*Jephtha*] "Deeper and deeper still" (Braham); Mozart: 3rd Motet ("New"); Clarke: "False Eustance" (M. Ashe, "by Particular Desire"); Clarke: "The last words of Marmian" (Braham, "by Particular Desire"); Handel: *Dettingen Te Deum*, "Lord in Thee."

Appendix B

Operatic Roles Performed by Venanzio Rauzzini

Year	Composer	Opera	Role	City	Theatre
1764 – Carnival	N. Piccinni	*Gli stravaganti*	Arminda	Rome	Teatro alla Valle
1764 – Carnival	[?]P. Anfossi[1]	*Gli amanti delusi*	Carlatta	Rome	Teatro alla Valle
1764 – Carnival	N. Piccinni	*Il Perucchiere*	Rosina	Rome	Teatro alla Valle Teatro alla Valle
1765 – Carnival	A. Sacchini	*La contadina in corte*	Sandrina	Rome	Teatro alla Valle
1765 – Carnival	G. Scolaro	*Il ciarlone*	Rosina	Rome	Teatro alla Valle
1765 – 7 Feb.	N. Piccinni	*Il finto astrologo*	Clarice	Rome	Teatro alle Valle
1766 – Carnival	A. Sacchini	*La contadina in corte*	Sandrina	Rome	Nuovo T. alla Valle
1766 – Carnival	A. Colli	*La finta contessa*	Lenina	Rome	Nuovo T. alla Valle
1766 – Carnival	A. Sacchini	*L'Isola di Amore*	Belinda	Rome	Nuovo T. alla Valle
1766 – 7 May	P. Guglielmi	*Sesostri*	Sesostri	Venice	Teatro S. Salvatore
1766 – ?	Cammerlocher	*La religione esaltante*	Prudenza	Munich	?
1767 – Carnival	T. Traetta	*Siroe, re di Persia*	Siroe	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1767 – Ascension	P. Guglielmi	*Il re pastore*	Aminta	Venice	Teatro S. Benedetto

(continued)

Year	Composer	Opera	Role	City	Theatre
1767 – Fall	F. Gassmann	*Amore e Psiche*	Amore	Vienna	Hoftheater
1767 – 9 Sept.	A. Hasse	*La partenope*	Filandro	Vienna	Hoftheater
1768 – Carnival	A. Bernasconi	*La clemenza di Tito*	Sesto	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1769 – Carnival	P. Pompeo Sales	*Antigono*	Demetrio	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
? 1769	V. Rauzzini	*Piramo e Tisbe*	Piramo	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1770 – 8 Jan.	A. Sacchini	*Scipione in Cartagena*	Lucejo	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1770 – 27 April	A. Sacchini	*L'eroe cinese*	Siveno	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1771 – Carnival	A. Sacchini	*L'eroe cinese*	Siveno	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1772 – Carnival	A. Bernasconi	*Demetrio*	Alceste	Munich	Neue Hoftheater
1772 – 26 Dec.	W. A. Mozart	*Lucio Silla*	Cecilio	Milan	Teatro ducale
1773 – 20 Jan.	G. Paisiello	*Sismano nel mogol*	Siface	Milan	Teatro ducale
1773 – Ascension	P. Anfossi	*Antigono*	Demetrio	Venice	Teatro S. Benedetto
1773 – 13 June	G. A. Naumann	*Armida*	Rinaldo	Padua	Nuovo Teatro
1773 – 26 Dec.	J. Mysliveček	*Antigona*	Euristeo	Turin	Teatro regio
1774 – Carnival	G. Masi	*La disfatta di Dario*	Alessandro	Turin	Teatro regio
1774 – May	F. G. Bertoni	*Narbale*	Sidreno	Venice	Teatro S. Moisè
1774 – 8 Nov.	pasticcio	*Armida*	Rinaldo	London	King's Theatre
1774 – 3 Dec.	Corri	*Alessandro nell'Indie*	Poro	London	King's Theatre
1775 – 11 Nov.	pasticcio	*Didone abbandonata*	Æneas	London	King's Theatre

(continued)

Year	Composer	Opera	Role	City	Theatre
1775 – 7 Feb.	A. Sacchini	*Montezuma*	Montezuma	London	King's Theatre
1775 – 15 March	V. Rauzzini	*Piramo e Tisbe*	Piramo	London	King's Theatre
1775 – 6 May	pasticcio	*La difessa d'Amore*	Cupido	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 6 Feb.	M. Vento	*La vestale*	Celer	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 29 Feb.	V. Rauzzini	*Le ali d'Amore*	Fileno	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 30 April	N. Piccinni	*Caio Mario*	Annio	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 14 May	V. Rauzzini	*Piramo e Tisbe*	Piramo	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 18 May	pasticcio	*Antigono*	Demetrio	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 2 Nov.	pasticcio	*Astarto, re di Tiro*	Astarto	London	King's Theatre
1776 – 14 Dec.	V. Rauzzini	*Piramo e Tisbe*	Piramo	London	King's Theatre
1777 – 21 Jan.	T. Traetta	*Germando*	Germando	London	King's Theatre
1777 – 13 March	V. Rauzzini	*Le ali d'Amore*	Fileno	London	King's Theatre
1777 – 15 March	T. Traetta	*Telemaco*	Telemaco	London	King's Theatre
1781 – 5 June	V. Rauzzini	*L'omaggio di paesani [act 2]*	Fileno	London	King's Theatre
1784 – 18 March	V. Rauzzini	*La regina di Golconda*	Alberto	London	King's Theatre

Notes

Preface

1. Barbier, *World of the Castrati*, 211.
2. Moreschi's life and career have been studied by Nicholas Clapton. The singer's training and career remained of necessity outside the realms of staged opera, as there would have been no active stage repertory in which he could have sung in the 1880s and 1890s. While it is fascinating to hear the voice, his style and technique appear to be much influenced by late nineteenth-century music. It is unfortunate that his best known recording is a 1904 performance of the Bach-Gounod "Ave Maria." This disk may have been successful from the engineer's perspective, but it shows Moreschi to be in shaky voice.
3. Nicholas Clapton argues that endocrinological sopranos do not sound like a true castrato voice: "I have heard several recordings of male sopranos who are apparently endocrinological castrati, suffering from congenital disorders, such as Kallmann's syndrome; they all sound far more like ordinary falsettists than like Moreschi, none of them having his strong and extensive chest register." *Moreschi*, 203.
4. Jauss, "Theses on the Transition," 138.

Chapter One

1. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 11.
2. Beghelli, "Marche, terra di castrati," 23.
3. Sands, "Venanzio Rauzzini, Singer, Composer, Traveller," 15. Unfortunately, *Wikipedia* claims that Rauzzini studied with Clementi, who was six years younger than he.
4. Britton, *History and Antiquities*, 114.
5. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 14.
6. Vogelaar, "Castrati in Western Art Music," Part 2, 148.
7. Many sources, such as *Oxford Music Online* and Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, "Rauzzini, Venanzio," give Rauzzini's debut as February 7, 1765, in Piccinni's *Il finto astrologo*. Claudio Sartori lists Rauzzini's participation in Piccinni's *Gli stravaganti* on January 1, 1764.
8. Barbier, *The World of the Castrati*, 88.
9. Bingley, *Musical Biography*, 2:315.
10. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 19.
11. Ibid., 21–26.

12. Münster, "Die beiden Fassunger," 119.
13. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 1:127.
14. Ibid., 1:123. At the end of his stay, Burney wrote that the "city of Munich is one of the best built, and most beautiful in Germany; I am ashamed to mention all the honours and favours, which were undeservedly conferred upon me, during my short residence there. All that I can add to this article is, that I quitted it with great regret" (1:177).
15. Guadagni had been in London between 1748 and 1756. He subsequently created the role of Orfeo at the premiere of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* in 1762. Guadagni returned to London in 1769, but he was taken up by Maria Antonia, the Dowager Electress of Saxony before 1772, and he subsequently made Munich his home.
16. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 1:149. Matteo Rauzzini appears to have been rather precocious as a composer. In addition to *Le finte gemelle*, he also had another comic opera produced in Munich in 1772, *Il kam cinese*. According to Burney, the composer was only eighteen years of age. Matteo Rauzzini spent several years in Venice, where he had other works produced. Ultimately, he followed his older brother to the British Isles where he settled in Dublin and developed a reputation as a respected teacher.
17. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 1:128–29.
18. Ibid., 1:139–40.
19. Ibid., 1:173–74.
20. Naumann did not spend long in Munich, leaving for Dresden in September 1772, at the same time that Burney made his departure. Engländer, *Johann Gottlieb Naumann*, 44.
21. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 2:141–42.
22. Ibid., 1:174.
23. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 22.
24. Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe*, 1:239. Reindl ("Venanzio Rauzzini," 24–25) casts doubts on this particular Mozart letter and questions whether Leopold Mozart was in Vienna at the time of the *Partenope* performances.
25. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 24.
26. Bingley, *Musical Biography*, 2:315.
27. Rudhart, *Geschichte der Oper*, 149.
28. Bolongaro-Crevenna, *L'Arpa Festante*, 239.
29. Bingley, *Musical Biography*, 2:318.
30. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 1:128.
31. Sands, "Vennzio Rauzzini, Singer, Composer, Traveller," 15.
32. Burney, *Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 182.
33. Kelly, *Reminiscences*, 5.
34. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 18. Sheila Hodges reprints the sonnet in full with translation. "Venanzio Rauzzini," 13–14.
35. It is also possible that the story was embellished by Theodore Hook, who ghost-wrote the memoirs of the ailing Kelly. With time, the story has been further embellished and Patrick Barbier (*The World of the Castrati*, 139) writes that Rauzzini had "to escape the anger of the many husbands whom he had turned into cuckolds" in Munich.
36. Mollie Sands believed that Rauzzini ran into financial problems in Munich which occasioned his departure from the city. "Venanzio Rauzzini, Singer, Composer, Traveller," 18.
37. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 1:128.

38. Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe*, 1:464.
39. Ibid., 1:472.
40. The aria is heard in act 1, scene 5: "From the dark shore, come, o father, come o beloved husband."
41. Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 61.
42. Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe*, 1:471–72.
43. Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 61.
44. Lister, *Amico*, 23.
45. Wiel, *I teatri musicali veneziani*, 301.
46. Gidwitz, "'Ich bin die erste Sängerin,'" 566.
47. Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe*, 2:304.
48. Gidwitz, "Mozart's Fiordiligi," 208–10.
49. The manuscript score found in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 543, has been reproduced in Sacchini, *L'eroe cinese*.
50. Ibid., respectively 25–46 and 140–58.
51. Ibid., respectively 226–48 and 263–76.
52. Burney, *General History*, 4:501.
53. Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 62.
54. Ibid., 62.
55. Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians*, 307.
56. The music for both of these arias can be found in Haböck, *Gesangskunst*, 16–32.
57. Mozart subsequently revised portions of the text of the motet. These changes and the possibility that Rauzzini introduced the young Mozart to the text are explored by Robert Münster in "Die beiden Fassunger der Motette 'Exsultate, jubiliate' KV 165." The critical edition of the music is found in the *Neue Mozart Augabe* 1/3, ed. Hellmut Federhofer.
58. Curiously, there is no record of Rauzzini having performed the motet subsequently.
59. It is possible that Rauzzini's voice fitted between the ranges of Senesino and Farinelli. As mentioned above, Farinelli retained a usable d‴, while Quantz says that Senesino "had a well-carrying, clear, even, and pleasantly low soprano voice (mezzo soprano), a pure intonation and a beautiful *trillo*. He rarely sang above the fifth line f." Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians*, 292.
60. Burney, *General History*, 1:149.
61. Mount Edgcumbe, *Reminiscences*, 3. His description of the voices of Rauzzini and his successor in London, Pascherotti, is instructive. Of the latter, Mount Edgcumbe writes: "decidedly, in my opinion, the most perfect singer it ever fell to my lot to hear. . . . Pacchierotti's voice was an extensive soprano, full and sweet in the highest degree; his powers of execution were great, but he had far too good taste and too good sense to make a display of them where it would have been misapplied, confining it to one bravura song . . . in each opera, conscious that the chief delight of singing, and his own supreme excellence, lay in touching expression, and exquisite pathos." The musical styles of the two singers appear similar in their preference for expressive singing over coloratura brilliance; Pacchierotti likely had the larger voice, however. *Musical Reminiscences*, 12–13.
62. Burney, *General History*, 4:501.
63. Mount Edgcumbe, *Reminiscences*, 3.
64. This engraving has been reprinted by Highfill, Burnin, and Langhans in *A Biographical Dictionary*, 12:260, albeit in a small size. Even though Rauzzini gained weight in later years, subsequent portraits appear to reflect a physiognomy of

normal proportions. Portraiture, however, is not photography, and cannot always be taken at face value.

65. Kelly, *Reminiscences*, 5.
66. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Armida* (London: Robert Bremner, [1774]), British Library: H.348.(3.).
67. *LA REGINA di GOLCONDA, a Serious Opera* . . . (London: Longman & Broderip, [1784]).
68. The text found in the libretto differs from that of the printed score. The libretto gives the text as: "Son guerriero e non pavento. Venga pur nemica schiera: Equal sia nel gran cimento, Il valor conoscerà." Andrei, *Alina*, 8.
69. Unfortunately, not enough of Alberto's music in act 3 was published to allow for an accurate assessment of its vocal demands.
70. Rauzzini, *Twelve Solfeggi*, ii.
71. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:8.
72. Hodges, "A Nest of Nightingales," 84; Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife*, 44.
73. Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 364.
74. Charles Burney, *General History*, 4:510.
75. Both essays are found in Dennis, *The Critical Works of John Dennis*.
76. Gilman, "The Italian Castrato in London," 50.
77. Ibid., 51.
78. McGeary, "Warbling Eunuchs," 4–5.
79. Ibid., 12.
80. Gilman, "The Italian Castrato in London," 52–53.
81. Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife*, 57.
82. Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife*, 71–79, examines Tenducci's physical characteristics in greater detail than is possible here.
83. Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife*, 127.
84. Ibid., 146–49.
85. Ibid., 152.
86. Since Tenducci was sterile, it is often assumed that Kingsman was the biological father of Dorothea's child.
87. This document is reprinted by Michael Burden, *London Opera Observed*, 2:53–83. As Burden points out, Dorothea was only sixteen years of age at the time of writing, thus raising the question of whether or not she wrote this letter unaided.

Chapter Two

1. Gotwals, *Joseph Haydn*, 149. The meeting took place on May 17, 1806.
2. Davies was known as "l'Inglesina"on the Italian Peninsula, where she had enjoyed success in opera. She returned to Britain in 1773, appearing at the King's Theatre. She excelled in coloratura display. Daniel Lysons records that "foreigners confessed that no one but Gabrielli could surpass her on the Continent." Lysons, *History*, 774.
3. Mount Edgcumbe, *Reminiscences*, 7.
4. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:160.
5. A painting by Joshua Reynolds reveals the coquettish side of her personality. This painting was copied for an engraving by J. R. Smith which has been reproduced in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors* . . . , 13:228.

6. Burney, *General History*, 4:501–2.
7. Gibson, "Italian Opera in London," 49–50.
8. Ibid., 50.
9. Milhous and Hume, "Opera Salaries," 29.
10. Cheryll Duncan provides a detailed examination of the court case filed by Montcelli because he was not paid an agreed upon salary. "Castrati and impresarios in London," 44–52.
11. Her dispute with the management of the King's Theatre was finally resolved in the Court of Common Pleas on May 31, 1775, when Davies's petition was upheld. *London Chronicle*, May 30–June 1, 1775.
12. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 199.
13. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:55.
14. Both cited by Petty, *Italian Opera in London*, 142.
15. This comment comes from December 1775, but likely refers to his debut in 1774. *Early Journals*, 2:187.
16. A reference to Quintus Roscius Gallus (ca. 126 BCE–62 BCE), who was a famous Roman actor. His name was used subsequently to indicate the highest standard of acting.
17. The letter is signed as being from "A SUBSCRIBER."
18. In modern times this might appear to be pure caprice, but not when compared to the antics of Luigi Marchesi, who always sang the same entrance aria by Sarti, "Mia speranza, io pur vorrei," regardless of the opera in which he was singing. Monk, "The World of the Castrato," 27.
19. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Armida* (London: Robert Bremner, [1774]), British Library: H.348.(3.). There are only three arias in the collection; Rauzzini's composition is the most extended and richly orchestrated of the three.
20. I am much indebted to Dr. Donald Neville, Professor Emeritus at the University of Western Ontario, for his assistance in sorting out the relationship between *Narbale* and *L'eroe cinese*. Personal communication, March 15, 2013.
21. A subscription series of concerts was given at the Pantheon with the orchestra under the direction of Giardini. The concerts presented some exceptionally alluring vocal talent, including the sensational Lucrezia Aguiari (sometimes spelled Agujari).
22. Petty, *Italian Opera in London*, 135–39.
23. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 40.
24. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:78.
25. Gibson, "Italian Opera in London," 49. This picture is also reproduced by Highfill, Burnin, and Langhans in *A Biographical Dictionary*, 8:229.
26. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 108–9.
27. Stevens, *Recollections*, 131.
28. Malmesbury, *A Series of Letters*, 1:293.
29. Ibid., 1:296.
30. Frederick C. Petty (*Italian Opera in London*, 141) claims that only four performances were mounted in 1775, but the pages of Lennep (ed.), *The London Stage* (part 4, 3:1876, 1879, 1886, 1891, 1893, and 1899–1901) demonstrate otherwise.
31. Lugli, *Venanzio Rauzzini*, 12–13.
32. Ibid., 15–18.
33. The British Library copy of this libretto was mistakenly interleaved with pages from the cantata *La difesa d'Amore*. This was reported to the library in May 2009. Those

wishing to see the 1775 printing in Eighteenth Century Collections Online must collate pages from the entry under *Piramo e Tisbe* (1775) and *La difesa d'Amore*.

34. It is likely that Bottarelli undertook to revise his original translation when given the opportunity. In 1775, the translation of Corebus's final lines of the opera had been: "Behold to what scene of woes his inflexible severity has brought him!" In 1776, this became, "What sorrows on himself he's brought! These scenes of woe his rigour wrought." In the arias, the move to creating poetry sometimes shifted the translation farther from the exact meaning of the Italian text.
35. The date of the Viennese performance is taken from Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, 345. Reindl gives the date of the first performance as December 28, 1776 ("Venanzio Rauzzini," 57). Loewenberg also mentions performances in Prague in the summer of 1783 and in Warsaw in the spring of 1784.
36. Otto Biba's study of Haydn's additions to the libretto published by Kurzböck is of interest. It appears that Haydn may have been instructed to consider preparing a performance of the opera for the Esterházy family. Haydn enlarged upon the existing libretto, and several aria extensions are found in his hand in a copy of the printed libretto. Haydn would have had to compose new music for these textual extensions, but this does not seem to have happened. The opera was never produced for the Esterházy family. Biba, "A Newly Discovered Libretto," 137–46.
37. Lamberto Lugli provides a facsimile of the libretto from 1782. *Venanzio Rauzzini*, [33–51]. The reference to the "Piccolo" Theatre may refer to the pantomime theater established by Filippo Nicolini in Braunschweig, rather than the Theater am Hagenmarkt, or opera house. I am indebted to Dr. Barbara Reul for her assistance in this matter (personal communication, January 20, 2013).
38. Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, 263.
39. The Continental scores have been examined by Lamberto Lugli, who made a performing edition of the opera that was used in performance at the Teatro Filippo Marchetti in Camerino on November 3, 2009. Two arias from the opera, both for the character of Corebo, can be heard at www.stageworld.it/bonazzoli.html. I am much indebted to Professor Lugli for his kindness in sharing his research on this opera with me.
40. The manuscript of the overture can be found at the University of Texas at Austin (US AUS/Finney 8). The Niedersächsishes Staatsarchiv, Wolfenbüttel, has a collection of music drawn from the opera (D-Wa/ 46 Alt 745, and D-Wa/ 46 Alt 744). All of the pieces can be found in the Bremner publication, as can the contents of the manuscript in the library of the Conservatoire de Musique, Genève (CH-Gc/ X5 [Ms. 10465, 10466]). The Bibliothèque nationale de France owns a manuscript of ten folios containing portions of *Piramo e Tisbe* (Vm^7 88).
41. A modern edition of the cantata version of the music has been published in full score: *Venanzio Rauzzini: Piramo e Tisbe, A Dramatic Cantata*, edited and introduced by Paul F. Rice (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014). Excerpts from the music were released during the eighteenth century in different formats. "Fuggiam dove sicura, A favorite song," was released by Preston in [1776]. A flute transcription of this air can be found in *A Valuable Collection of the most Favourite Songs, Selected from the latest Italian Operas* (London: John Welcker, [1776]). This same source also contains a transcription of "Invan ti struggi in pianto" and "Infelice in tanto orrore." Such was the popularity of "Fuggiam dove sicura" that it found its way into the production of Sheridan's *The Duenna, or Double Elopement* at the Theatre Royal,

Covent Garden, on November 21, 1775. In the latter work it was sung to the text, "By him, we love offended."

42. The manuscript performing parts for the *Symphony* are in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript has been dated "1790–1799" and consists of performance parts that originated from the Musikalische Gesellschaft, Braunschweig. The scoring of the symphony is for strings, two oboes, two horns, two trumpets, and timpani: *RISM* ID no. 45150608. If the dating is accurate, the parts postdate any of the Continental or British productions of *Piramo*.
43. The complete symphony has been recorded by Professor Reinhard Goebel and the Bayerische Kammerphilharmonie: *Mozart in Italien*, Mirijam Contzen, violin, Reinhard Goebel, conductor, Bayerische Kammerphilharmonie (Oehms Classics OC 753). I am much indebted to Professor Goebel for providing me with a copy of his edition of the symphony.
44. [Coltellini], *Piramo e Tisbe*, 10.
45. Ibid., 25.
46. Lamberto Lugli has also noted this similarity, *Venanzio Rauzzini*, 16.
47. Statistics drawn from Lennep (ed.), *The London Stage*, part 4, 3:1831.
48. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 186–87.
49. Burney, *General History*, 4:501.
50. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:78.
51. Ibid., 2:187.
52. Ibid., 2:190, 220.
53. "You appear . . . to be somewhat touc'd with the Charms of the beautiful Rauzzini; & perhaps 'tis well for you he did not add the Magic of his Voice to ˙compleat your ruin—.'" Ibid., 2:192.

Chapter Three

1. Burney, *General History*, 4:502.
2. Evidently, Gabrielli had little sense of stage decorum, conducting conversations with people behind the scenes while on stage and interacting with audience members in the nearby boxes. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 129.
3. Ibid., 206–7.
4. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:159–60.
5. Frances Burney refers to her as a "vilainous [*sic*] singer" and reports that her far more famous sister's lack of spirit and voice might have resulted from the audience hissing Francesca. Ibid., 2:169.
6. Surprisingly, the theatre permitted the performance of May 16, 1776, to be a benefit night for Schindlerin. She had previously sung in concerts, including some at the Pantheon theatre, where Aguiari remained a potent rival.
7. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:86.
8. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 128.
9. This *pasticcio* opera and Caterina Gabrielli's initial performances in it are discussed by Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 116–17 and 126–35. I can find no evidence to support the author's assertion that "Rauzzini apparently forced [Frances Brooke] to turn *Didone* into a pasticcio." Ibid., 218. It would seem logical that the management did not want to introduce Gabrielli in music that would put her into direct

competition with Aguiari. Furthermore, the presence of Sacchini in London permitted the transformation to be made quickly.

10. Quoted in Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 129.
11. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:172.
12. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Didone* (London: R. Bremner, [1775]), British Library, H.230.b.(2.) Rauzzini's arias are given in full score, and are found on pages 30–35, 36–42, 43–47, and 48–57.
13. Even Caterina Gabrielli appears to have been past her best by the time she reached London. Charles Burney asks: "Tell me truly, is or has the Gabrielli been a great singer? . . . We import superannuated sirens, and spoil them more than the Italians can afford to do, who at least enjoy them young" *Letters*, 1:194.
14. British Library, G.206.d.(2.)
15. The British Library copy of the 1777 libretto was mixed up with pages from another opera when the volume was bound; unfortunately, the corrupted copy of the libretto was released in "17th–18th century Burney Collection Newspapers," Gale Cengage Learning, accessed April 22, 2015, http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itweb/sain66118?d=BBCN.
16. *The Favorite songs, Rondeaus, DUETTS & CHORUS, in the OPERA LE ALI D'AMORE* . . . (London: Welcker, [1776]), British Library: H.2263.a. Numerous manuscript scores can be found. The library of the Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan, has manuscript copies of the arias "Le calma serena," "Da cento agganni," "Oh se perdo il caro," "Gli affanni dei cor," "Io godeva if giorni," "La cerva piagata," "Da cento affanni," and "Chi può dire" (I-Mc/Mus. Tr. M. 1000 1/7). The Royal College of Music in London has a manuscript copy of the aria "Da cento affanni" (RCM MS 522/1, folios 1–13). The British Library also holds a manuscript copy of "Chi può dire"; all of these can be found in the publication by Welcker. Of greater interest is the duet "Con le note sue canore" (R.M.23.g.7. (1–2)) at the British Library, which is not found in the Welcker publication.
17. The complete letter is also given by Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 140. Woodfield's suggestion that the letter might have been written by a supporter of Rauzzini in an attempt to gain greater prestige for *Le ali d'Amore* is an interesting conjecture. Why Sacchini would have allowed such a deception to stand unchallenged, however, is less easy to explain.
18. Lennep (ed.), *The London Stage*, part 4, vol. 3, incorrectly states that only ten operas were performed.
19. Burney, *Letters*, 1:212–13.
20. Burden, *London Opera Observed*, 2:222. This source also reprints the full text on pages 225–28.
21. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 136–38.
22. The role of Orfeo had been sung by Giuseppe Millico, a soprano castrato. Surprisingly, what Millico sang in London was not Gluck's revision made especially for him but a *pasticcio* version. The 1773 libretto, published by W. Griffin, lists musical additions by Giardini, Ottani, and Cricca.
23. Zeno, *Astarto Rè di Tiro*, [i].
24. [Zeno], *Astarto; A Serious Opera.*
25. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Astarto* (London: R. Bremner, 1776), British Library: RM 13.c.19 (6.). This source contains many but not all of the arias performed in the *pasticcio.*

26. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Antigono* (London: R. Bremner, 1776), British Library G.760.c.(5.)
27. Burney, *History*, 4:505.
28. The opera was highly contentious. The *Morning Chronicle* reported a dispute on February 19, 1777, between a musician and a poet in an Italian tavern over the merits of the opera that resulted in damages to the premises.
29. *La Partenza; A Cantata composed by Sig^r: Venanzio Rauzzini and Sung by Him and Miss Storace at the Opera House* (London: Welcker, [1778?]). This was a deluxe publication of twenty pages. The poet's name is not given. Page numbers are given in brackets in the list of contents which is as follows:
    [2–4] Recitativo secco: "Formati amico" [Dialogue between Amore and Felino]. $\frac{4}{4}$. Range: d′–b♭″
    [4–10] Recitativo & Aria: "Ah! Che il partir m'affamma, / Di questo suolo il nome" [Felino]. Largo: E flat, $\frac{3}{4}$; Allegro: E flat, $\frac{4}{4}$. 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, and figured bass. Range: b♭–a″.
    [11] Recitativo secco: "Seguirti volgio" [Amore and Fileno]. G/g–D, $\frac{4}{4}$. Range: g′–g″
    [12–20] Duet: "Dunque restar degg'io" [Amore and Fileno]. Andante: G, $\frac{3}{4}$/¢. 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vl, vla, and figured bass. Range: d′–a″.
30. Indeed, Rauzzini reused the same opening motif for the third of his *Six Favorite Italian Canzonets* (op. 9). The canzonet omits all of the coloratura difficulties of the aria. This opening motif must have been a great favourite of his since a variant of it is also to be found in the first of his *Six Quartettos for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord* (op. 6), 1780.
31. Statistics compiled from Lennep (ed.), *The London Stage*, part 5, 1:15.
32. The full text is provided by Michael Burden, *London Opera Observed*, 2:229–95.
33. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 166–79.
34. Egerton 3691, fols. 114r–115v, cited by Willier, "Gasparo Paccierotti in London," 285.
35. Woodfield, *Opera and Drama*, 139–41.
36. Egerton 3691, fol. 66v, letter written on January 19, [1780]; Olleson, *Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 111.
37. Pacchierotti does not make the comment that Rauzzini had become shop-worn by his days in London, as claimed by Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera in late Eighteenth-Century London*, 1:203. One might wonder whether Pacchierotti had wanted Rauzzini out of London, but there is no evidence to support such an assumption and the two appear to have been on friendly terms.
38. Francs Burney, *Early Journals*, 2:189–90.
39. Charles Burney, *General History*, 4:501.
40. Quoted in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, 1015.
41. British Library, Egerton 3691, fols. 114r–115v. Willier, "Gasparo Paccierotti in London," 285; Olleson, *Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 150. Unfortunately, Frances Burney's journals are very quiet about this episode in the singer's career. Frances did not see Rauzzini often in this period but, unlike her sister, she does not appear to have formed any antipathy toward him. Willier, "A Celebrated Eighteenth-Century Castrato," 256. Frances and her father attended a concert at James Harris's home on March 17, 1778, at which Rauzzini sang: "The sweet Rauzzini was there, & sung 4 Duets with Miss Louisa Harris; He has now left the opera, where he is succeeded by Roncaglia. I was extremely delighted at meeting with him again, & again hearing him sing." *Early Journals*, 3:7–8. She appears to have been unaware of any

projected return to the stage the following year. Susan Burney's antipathy toward Rauzzini was coloured by her fascination with Pacchierotti and her belief that Rauzzini disliked her. On May 6, 1779, she writes of a meeting with Rauzzini during which he paid her many compliments, praising her taste in all art and music. "I thank'd him laughing for his fine compliments, w[hi]ch to say the truth surprised me not a little from him—for I always thought he had rather a dislike to me—why I had this Notion I can scarce say myself." British Library, Egerton 3691, fol. 123r.

42. Barbier, *World of the Castrato*, 211. Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (1736–90) also spent many years in Britain after giving up the stage in London, though he divided his time between the Continent and Britain.

Chapter Four

1. Quoted by McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 2.
2. Later biographies, such as those in the *The New Grove Dictionary* and Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans's *Biographical Dictionary*, accept Burney's statement. Fétis appears to have taken his biography directly from Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Times*.
3. Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, 1:369–70.
4. Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe*, 1:366.
5. Ibid., 1:133.
6. Marsh, *Journals*, 185.
7. Lysons, *History*, 209.
8. Ibid., 191.
9. Lysons, *History*, 209. See also the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, September 10, 1776.
10. Marsh, *Journals*, 147.
11. Ibid., 166–67.
12. Lysons, *History*, 208–9.
13. Ibid., 207.
14. Initially a musical collaboration between Giordani and Charles Avison, Giordani presented a setting completely of his own composition on May 25, 1768. It would seem likely that Rauzzini sang this version of the text.
15. McVeigh, "Music and Lock Hospital in the 18th Century," 235–40.
16. It is not possible to document the first two seasons of their concerts in Bath. Copies of the *Bath Journal* for this period have not survived and the *Bath Herald* had not yet started to publish. This leaves only fleeting references to the concerts in the *Bath Chronicle* and some of the London newspapers.
17. See also the satirical epigram that appeared in the *Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal* on June 22, 1776, suggesting that La Motte's playing was all trickery.
18. Possibly La Motte was already in debt, although this was only mentioned in the *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer* on June 12, 1778.
19. See the *Bath Chronicle*, November 20, 1777.
20. This was not unusual because of the expense. A concert for Mr. Rauppe (presumably the cellist Johann Georg Rauppe), was given a rare, full description in the *Bath Chronicle* on October 23, 1777. The advertised repertoire follows: Act 1: Overture, Bach; Solo Violoncello, Master Rauppe; "4th of Handel's Hautboy Concertos";

Duetto, two Violoncellos; Overture, Haydon [*sic*]. Act 2: Overture, Van Hall; Concerto Violoncello; Solo Violin; Solo Violoncello; Sinfonia, Sacchini.

21. This concerto has been recorded by Mirijam Contzen (violin), with the Bayerische Kammerphilharmonie, conducted by Reinhard Goebel (Oehms Classics OC 753).
22. Bauer and Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe*, 3:295.
23. Wesley, *Reminiscences*, British Library, Ms. Add. 27593, 92.
24. James, "Concert Life," 216–18.
25. William Herschel directed an orchestra made up of musicians from the Pump Room, the theatre and the local community. He was eventually to make history as an astronomer, but at this time he made his living as a musician, having been appointed the organist of the Octagon Chapel, Bath, in 1767. What should have been a glittering occasion was a failure because of bad weather and poor advertising, a reminder that concerts were not a sure-fire formula for financial success.
26. James, "Concert Life," 216–18.
27. The value of a guinea was £1 1s, with the result that the men still paid two guineas and women only one.
28. There were two performers by the name of Madden. The elder is known only as Miss Madden while her younger sister was referred to as Miss L[ucretia]. Madden.
29. Jane Mary (Jenny) Guest was a Bath resident who studied with Thomas Linley in Bath and J. C. Bach and Antonio Sacchini in London. She was a frequent performer in Rauzzini's subsequent concerts and was well appreciated in London. After 1789 she performed under her married name of Mrs. Miles. Her career has been examined by Nicholas Salwey, "Women Pianists," 282–84.
30. Rack's journal takes the form of a series of letters sent to his relatives between December 22, 1779, and March 22, 1780. The manuscript is held at Bath Public Library (MS.1111). The letters have been transcribed and edited by Trevor Fawcett, and published by the Bath Archives as "The Journal of Edmund Rack," accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.batharchives.co.uk/explore_the_archives/the_journal_of_edmund_rack.aspx.
31. Olleson, *Journals and Letters*, 110. The period to which Pacchierotti refers is open to question since the conjectural dating of Miss Burney's letters refers to a period when Rauzzini was still in Bath and Pacchierotti was in London.
32. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, obituary for Franz La Motte, 446. The account of Rauzzini's life that was published in the *Bath Journal* on April 16, 1810, following his death mentions that La Motte's "imprudence . . . obliged him soon after to withdraw" from Bath. It is likely that his imprudence had not been restricted to his activities in Bath.
33. James, "Concert Life," 236.
34. Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 7:139–40.
35. Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 70 and 112–14. Rauzzini's brother, Matteo, was also a singing teacher and composer but was less well known than his older brother. Matteo settled in Dublin around 1780, dying there in 1791.
36. This put the series in direct competition with others, such as that at the Pantheon, where La Motte had previously led the orchestra. Giardini had been enticed to return to his former position as leader at the Pantheon, thereby increasing the competition between the two violinists.
37. While the Bach-Abel concerts cost five guineas for a season pass, their series was rather better value for money in that they offered fifteen concerts a series lasting from January 21 to May 13. See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 235.

38. Sarah Harrop (ca. 1755–1811) was a popular singer on the concert circuit. Her name was variously spelled as Harrop and Harrup; the former is adopted herein. She was engaged as the principal soprano at the Three Choirs Festival (Glouchester) in 1778 at a fee of 100 guineas. She was particularly suited to singing music by Handel and music from the English school. Lysons, *History*, 210.
39. It must be assumed that the cellist named herein is James Cervetto (b. 1748) and not his much older father, Giacobbe (1682–1783), even though the newspaper advertisements do not differentiate between them. Giacobbe Cervetto had a long performing career, but the *General Evening Post* on November 15–18, 1777, records that he had given up his job in the orchestra of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in 1775. He appears to have restricted his performances to the summer concerts of the Vauxhall Gardens by 1777.
40. See advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle*, May 9, 1778.
41. Brace, *Anna . . . Susanna*, 24.
42. Marsh, *Journals*, 194.
43. Perhaps this is why Louisa Harris was "greatly occupied in disposing of subscriptions for Rauzzini's and Lamotte['s] concert." Her mother records that she raised nearly 200 guineas for them. Quoted by Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theater*, 1019.
44. Marsh, *Journals*, 253.
45. *La Sorpresa: A Cantata by Giuseppe Farronio to be sung at Messrs Rauzzini & la Motte's Concerts in the Assembly-Rooms, Hanover Square* (London. R. Rapley, 1779), British Library: 907.i.15. Farronio's name was mistakenly given in the *Public Advertiser* as J. Forenio on February 20, 1779. Little is known about Farronio, although he is credited with supplying Rauzzini the text for a song: "The birth-day of Laura: a favorite canzonet" (London: Longman, Clementi & Co., [1799]). British Library: G.364.(37.)
46. Christie, *Catalogue*, 21.
47. *The Favorite Quick March in the Cantata La Sorpresa* (London: Goulding, Phipps & D'Amaine, [1805?]), British Library: g.272.r.(28.)
48. Faronio, *Sorpresa*, 3.
49. Ibid., 11.
50. Ibid., respectively 12 and 15.
51. Tomita, "'Most Ingenious, Most Leaned,'" 2.
52. Royal College of Music, D 428/2.
53. Royal College of Music, MS 522, folios 195r–206r.
54. Another copy of the aria can be found in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg (D-HS/ M/A/848 [Nr. 2]). This score, once owned by Friedrich Chrysander, was heavily damaged by mould, making it largely unreadable. Kind personal communication from Dr. Juergen Neubacher, Leitung Historische Bestaende Referat Musikhandschriften und -drucke, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, Carl von Ossietzky, dated July 16, 2012. This score also references Mrs. Billington.
55. Royal College of Music, MS 522, folios 47r–66r.
56. British Library: Egerton Ms. 3691, fol. 17r. Olleson, *Journals and Letters*, 76.
57. British Library: Egerton Ms. 3691. fol. 66v. Letter written on January 19, [1780]. Olleson, *Journals and Letters*, 110–11.
58. BL Egerton Ms. 3691. fol. 77r. The letter was written on March 22, [1780]. Olleson, *Journals and Letters*, 126.
59. See Ian Haywood's *The Gordon Riots*.

60. Frances Burney, *Early Journals*, 4:547. See also, Olleson, *Journals and Letters*, 169.
61. Reynolds, *Life and Times*, 1:128.
62. Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 248–89.
63. The statement by McVeigh that the final concert was "postponed, perhaps indefinitely" is not correct. *Concert Life*, 235.
64. The date of the concert is confirmed in the various London newspapers. Strangely, Frances Burney's journals record an account from her sister, Susan, of a "Miserere Concert" having taken place in London in May 1780 (*Early Journals*, 4:151). Unfortunately, the packet of letters from Susan mentioned by her sister is now lost. The London newspapers make no mention of a concert containing a performance of a *Miserere* in May 1780. One wonders if the date of Frances's account has somehow been confused. The mention of Sacchini's opera *Rinaldo* in the text does not necessarily indicate a year for this diary entry, since the opera was performed in both 1780 and 1781 in London.
65. Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife*, 69. One can only hope that Rauzzini's fee was large.
66. *Royal Gazette*, 3/140 (1781): 794. This source also lists the principal performers who took part in the celebrations: Rauzzini, Pacchiarotti, Bertoni, Tenducci, Corse, Cervetto, Sodorini, Miss Guest, Salomon, and Burton.
67. Tonioli, *Il tributo*, 4–6. The title page erroneously indicates that Rauzzini was the author of the text, when it was by Girlamo Tonioli. Bath Central Library, B 821.6 GRA. Only the English translation was published.
68. Ibid., 9.
69. Sands, "Rauzzini at Bath," 109.
70. Rauzzini's instrumental music has been examined in far greater detail by Johannes Reindl in his 1961 dissertation from the University of Vienna than is possible in this study. For those wishing to examine Reindl's often phrase-by-phrase analyses, the following list may be of use: op. 1, pp. 164–184; op. 2, pp. 282–310; op. 6, pp. 243–268; op. 8, pp. 185–225; op. 15, pp. 226–242.
71. The British Library provides a provisional date of 1777 for this publication.
72. The British Library's provisional date of 1776 must be questioned since the advertisements for the sale of this music first appeared in 1778.
73. In her article on the composer for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Christine Martin incorrectly refers to this publication as a second collection of quartets for keyboard and strings.
74. There is a parallel here with James Hook (1746–1827), who composed over two thousand examples of vocal music, much of which was heard at the concerts in the Vauxhall Gardens and then published for domestic consumption.
75. While he was accomplished as a keyboard player and directed his Bath concerts from the keyboard, there is no record of his having played one of his keyboard sonatas at a public concert.
76. The second theme in the fourth sonata appears so late that it is virtually a codetta.
77. Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 359.
78. This sonata has been recorded by Zsolt Kalló, violin, and Tamás Szekendy, fortepiano, on Centaur Records, CRC 3276.
79. This quartet has been recorded by the Authentic String Quartet on Centaur Records, CRC 3276.
80. Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 214–19.
81. *Six Favourite Sonatas for the Piano Forte* [*Piano-Forte Magazine*, 8/6] (London: Harrison, Cluse and Co., 1799).

82. The first movement of Quartet No. 4 in D major starts well but does not generate much musical tension thereafter. The Rondeau which follows is of greater interest, displaying more of the harmonic richness found elsewhere in the series.
83. Rauzzini's use of a rocket theme (an upward-moving, arpeggiated theme) in the second movement of the third quartet might seem to represent an even older influence from the Mannheim School.
84. The contents of the collection follow: 1) "Al fiume al bosco," 2) "Fileno, Oh Dio," 3) "Che legge spietta," 4) "Ricordati ben mio," 5) "Già riede prima vera," 6) "O Dio non sdequarti," 7) "Già la notte s'avvicina," 8) "Trova un sol mia belle," 9) "Placido Zeffiretto," 10) "Và ma conservai miei," 11) "Scherza il nocchier tal ora," 12) "Perche si barbaro."
85. The contents of the collection follow: 1) "Quando sono presso a te," 2) "Per nostra avi un alma grata," 3) "Or che niega," 4) "Vorrei che un zeffiretto," 5) "Languente e tenera," 6) "Sento un dolce mormorio," 7) "Se parli ridi o canti."

Chapter Five

1. The only works that Rauzzini could have ghost-written are Sacchini's *Montezuma* (1775), *L'Amor soldato* (1778), *L'Avoro deluso* (1778), *Erifile* (1778), *Enea e Lavinia* (1779), *Rinaldo* (1780), and *Mitridate* (1781). Sacchini's other operas presented in London were not new works. If there is any truth in this story, it would seem most likely that Rauzzini had been called in to give a hand with the composition of only *Mitridate* and *Rinaldo*.
2. See: Petty, *Italian Opera*, 14–15, and Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:264–67.
3. Petty, *Italian Opera*, 360.
4. Burney, *General History*, 4:520–21.
5. British Library: Ms. Egerton 3691, 116r.
6. British Library: Ms. Egerton 3691, 88r.
7. Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:267.
8. Frances Burney, *Diary and Letters*, 1:377–78.
9. I am indebted to Professor Edward Goehring, Western University Canada, for revealing the origin of this quotation to me.
10. Kelly, *Reminiscences*, 2:106.
11. Ibid.
12. "The utmost I could ever believe of this accusation was, that during Saccchini's severe fits of the gout, when he was called upon for his late operas before they were ready, he might have employed Rauzzini, as he had and others had done, Anfossi in Italy, to fill up the parts, set some of the recitatives, and perhaps compose a few of the flimsy airs for the under singers. The story, however, gained ground, and was propagated by his enemies, though always disbelieved and condemned by his friends and the reasonable part of the public." Burney, *General History*, 4:520–21.
13. Price, Milhous, and Hume comment that Vestris "could successfully restage Gardel's and Noverre's stories, but he evidently had difficulty constructing one himself." *Italian Opera*, 1:461.
14. Walpole, *Correspondence*, 39:381–82.
15. Ibid., 39:382.

16. It is likely that Rauzzini sang the role of Fileno, but neither the published libretto nor the newspaper reviews provide the cast distribution.
17. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Ezio* (London: R. Bremner, [1781]).
18. Sheridan had placed the financial affairs of the King's Theatre in the hands of the lawyer William Taylor (ca. 1753–1825). When Sheridan became bankrupt, Taylor took over the theater.
19. Price, Milhous, Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:260.
20. For the 1784 revision, two new arias were added to act 2: "Se fra catene" in scene 2 and "Agitata in tanti affanni" in scene 5. Otherwise, the text set by Rauzzini is largely the same, barring some word changes.
21. Metastasio, *L'eroe cinese*, ii.
22. Presumably a reference to the alleged lover of Mary Queen of Scots.
23. Frances Burney, *Diary and Letters*, 1:422–23.
24. Ibid.
25. *New Spectator*, February 24, 1784.
26. Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:278.
27. The following manuscript scores have been located: a manuscript copy of "Rasserena il vago Ciglio" can be found in British Library, Additional Ms.31817, 88r–91r. The score contains only the melody and bass line, and is likely to have been copied from the published score. The trio "Dolce vita, idolo mio," which ends act 2, can be found at the Royal College of Music, London: RCM MS 522/1, folios 31r–46v. Also found in this manuscript is the aria "Da quell sembiante," for the character of Lisinga (act 1, scene 4.), MS 522/1, folios 18r–30v. Both of the scores found in the Royal College of Music in London were made for Rauzzini's friend, James Windsor, and are likely drawn from manuscript materials.
28. Petty, *Italian Opera in London*, 193 and 391–92.
29. I am indebted to Anne Ørbæk Jensen, Librarian at the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Music and Theatre Department) for supplying me with a copy of this music. Royal Library, Copenhagen, U6 mu 6603.0834 U6.
30. This aria has been recorded by Aris Christofellis (soprano) with the Ensemble Seicentonovecento, directed by Flavio Colusso (EMI 742355613424). The recording presents the singer with an accompaniment of a solo violin and cello, creating a very thin texture and incomplete harmonies. The central section of the aria is reproduced by Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:281–82.
31. Ibid., 1:278.
32. A portion of the aria is reproduced in ibid., 1:279–80.
33. Ibid., 1: 278.
34. The published information about salaries may have been rather old, given that Bach had died on January 1 of that year.
35. National Archives of Britain: PRIS 10/51.
36. Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:284 and 296. The same authors provide a detailed description of the lawsuit, 1:631–38.
37. Giambattista Schinotti is listed in the published libretto in the character of Minerva, but this character does not appear elsewhere in the text. It is possible that the role was cut from the score and the change was not entered into the list of performers.
38. Price, Milhous, and Hume are incorrect in stating that the Metastasian *coup de théâtre* was to be "a queen . . . nearly poisoned by her long-lost son." *Italian Opera*, 1:295.

39. "Spiegar non posso oh Dio!" (London: R. Bremner, [1783]), British Library: H. 1980.jj.(18.). The translation of the text follows: "Fain would I tell the meaning of these deep-fetched sighs, but cannot guess the cause of the emotions of my heart."
40. National Archives of Britain: PRIS 10/51.
41. Price, Milhous, and Hume discuss the very shaky ground on which the company performed in the period of 1781–85, *Italian Opera*, chapter 5 (1:260–319). See also Burden, *London Opera Observed*, 2:19–64, which reprints several pamphlets .
42. The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* took the contrary view on March 15, 1784, and defended the hiring of Rauzzini and Carnevale as the principal singers by stating "that by bringing out the two singers above-mentioned, they only do strict justice to prior engagements."
43. Petty, *Italian Opera*, 38.
44. Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera*, 1:312.
45. If the opera does not evoke the trials of another Griselda-like figure, it does present true love *and* virtue emerging triumphant. Such elements should have had a certain appeal to audiences used to the traditions of the eighteenth-century serious opera, be they French or Italian.
46. Andrei, *Alina, osia La regina di Golconda*, 2–3.
47. The commentary also includes numerous instances of deficiencies in the orchestra at that time.
48. The negative opinions about Rauzzini's music continued in this newspaper with a review of his terzetto "Troppo parventa e palpita," which was performed at a concert in the Hanover Square rooms. It was described as pleasing "more by the Graces than the Novelty of the Music" (*Public Advertiser*, May 14, 1784).
49. Lucyle Werkmeister has investigated the sympathies of the various London newspapers in *A Newspaper History of England*, 19–31.
50. *European Magazine*, July–December 1784, 226.
51. These performances did not pass completely without mishap; the opera had to be postponed on March 30 because of Rauzzini's "sudden indisposition" (*Morning Herald*, March 30, 1784).
52. Price, Milhous, and Hume exaggerate the situation in consigning Rauzzini to the vocal scrap heap, describing him "as apparently washed-up." *Italian Opera*, 1:260.
53. *LA REGINA di GOLCONDA, a Serious Opera* . . . (London: Longman & Broderip, [1784]). Additionally, the duet, "Viva Alina sol per te," was published as a separate entity (London: n.p., [1784]).
54. Price, Milhous, and Hume are incorrect in stating that the first two acts were published complete. *Italian Opera*, 1:313.
55. Price, Milhous, and Hume seemingly take the review found in the *New Spectator* as their basis, stating that "except for the recitative, the first two acts would not have sounded out of place in the English-speaking theatres." The authors make the claim that the strong criticisms found in the *New Spectator* are "not so much on the vocal shortcomings of Rauzzini and Signora Carnevale, but on the nature of the music itself." *Italian Opera*, 1:314. Careful reading of the review does not confirm their interpretation, especially when there is music that is clearly in the traditions of *opera seria* and the more lyrical and long-breathed pages of Gluck's reformed operas.
56. Ibid., 1:312.
57. "During the following chorus the Indians dance, and invite the officers of Alberto's retinue to join in the dance with them." Andrei, *La Regina di Golconda*, 17.

58. Ibid., 18.
59. Ibid., 21. At this point, the similarities to Rinaldo's situation in the tale of *Armida* may have been apparent to the audiences, although Alberto is not in the same kind of danger.
60. Ibid., 33.
61. Ibid., 37.
62. Reynolds, *Life and Times*, 2:300–16.
63. Reynolds, *Werter*, 33.
64. Badini, *L'Amore Protetto dal Cielo*, viii.
65. Quoted by Petty, *Italian Opera*, 247–48.
66. Burney, *General History*, 4:527.
67. Royal College of Music, London: RCM MS 522/1: "Splende a rei," folios 67r–94r; "Senza i dolci interni," folios 97r–109v; and "Son Vestale e sono amante," folios 110r–126v. A reduced version of the first aria follows in folios 95r–96v.
68. It was from the French publication that a modern edition of the music was undertaken by Lamberto Lugli and Roberto Murra and was published in Milan by Rugginenti (2010).
69. At the time of writing, an excellent performance of the op. 12 Duet in D can be found on YouTube, played by Antonio Piricone and Megumi Tanno.
70. *Favorite Duett for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* . . . (London: Goulding & Co., [1800?]). It is printed from the same plates as the op. 15 collection, and the pagination begins at 30. British Library: g.272.r. (28.) and g.272.u.(19.)
71. The first sonata has been recorded by Zsolt Kalló, violin; and Tamás Szekendy, fortepiano, in an arrangement by Mary Térey-Smith and Paul F. Rice (Centaur Records CRC 3276). Given that the score states "*Violin Ad Libitum*," the editors distributed the the musical materials evenly between the two instruments, resulting in a true sonata for violin and piano.
72. *European Magazine*, January–June 1784, 451.
73. The titles of the four duets follow: 1) "Ombre Amene, Amiche piante," 2) "Aure Amiche, ah non spirate," 3) "Tornate Sereni begli astir d'Amore," and 4) "Mi sento il cor tra figgere."
74. The titles of the four airs follow: 1) "Fra un dolce delira," 2) "Alla Stagion no vella," 3) "Care lusci innammorate," and "4) "Ah! disponi di mia sorte."
75. British Library: E.601.k.(11.)
76. The contents of the collection follow: 1) "Erma valle amico," 2) "La mia fille il mio bel foco," 3) "Placido Zeffiretto," 4) "Aure deh! Per pieta," 5) "Vanne felico rio," 6) "Va, della danza e l'ora."

Chapter Six

1. Davis and Bonsall, *Bath, A New History*, 16–17.
2. James, *Concert Life*, 26.
3. Gadd, *Georgian Summer*, 24.
4. Davis and Bonsall, *Bath, A New History*, 29.
5. Little, "Augustan Bath," 307–8.
6. Granville, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, 2:550.
7. Powys, *Diaries*, 50.

8. Quoted by Robbins Landon, *Haydn: A Documentary Study*, 142–43.
9. Davis and Bonsall, *Bath: A New History*, 41–42. For a more complete description of Bath under the influence of Nash see David Gadd, *Georgian Summer*, 37–82.
10. Frances Burney, *Diaries and Letters*, 1:289.
11. Neale, *Bath 1680–1850*, 22–23.
12. Davis and Bonsall, *Bath: A New History*, 42.
13. Little, "Augustan Bath," 305.
14. Not *Northanger Abbey*, as stated by Cunliffe, *The City of Bath*, 116, although *Northanger Abbey* is also partially set in Bath. Cunliffe is also in error when he ascribes the following complaint about Bath's growing size to Jonathan Swift in 1736: "This town has grown to such an enormous size that *above half the day* must be spent in the streets in going from one place to another." The author was actually Mary Granville (*Autobiography*, 2:550), writing about London, not Bath. Kenneth James invokes the same comment and, while attributing it to the correct author, also confuses the city in question. James, "Concert Life," 26.
15. The less socially significant had to content themselves with having their names inscribed in books kept in the Pump Room.
16. Davis and Bonsall, *Bath: A New History*, 41.
17. This building is now the Freemason's Hall. The current Theatre Royal, Bath, was erected in 1805 in the area of King's Square.
18. Lowndes, *Royal Crescent*, 18.
19. Although damaged during World War II, the Assembly Rooms reopened in 1963. For a detailed description of these spaces, with illustrations, see Green, *The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath*, 2:159–64.
20. Given that the current occupancy limit is five hundred, doubling that number in the eighteenth century must have resulted in considerable discomfort. Modern photographs and a description of the various rooms can be found at "Assembly Rooms," *Bath's Historic Venues*, accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.bathvenues.co.uk/assembly_rooms.aspx.
21. Gillaspie, *Catalogue of Music*, xxv. Private concerts given in the homes of the wealthy were also common on Saturday and Sunday evenings.
22. The document has been reproduced by Gillaspie, ibid., 1:238–39.
23. Bath Central Library: A.L. 3007.
24. Anon., "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini," 233.
25. Bingley, *Musical Biography*, 2:317–19.
26. Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 1:54.
27. Piozzi, *Letters*, 1:332.
28. Marsh, *Journals*, 706.
29. White, "But who was the Queen of Bath?" 54.
30. Warner, *Bath Characters*, 29.
31. Powys, *Diaries*, 352.
32. White, "But who was the Queen of Bath?" 54.
33. Piozzi, *Letters*, 2:86.
34. Ibid., 6:268. Mrs. Piozzi was the master of the subtle insult. On March 2, 1810, having met Miss Wroughton, who complained of having been confined by an acute toothache, she writes: "I had such a *Face* said She as nobody ever saw but my own. So you always had replied I.—and Colonel Barry observed that even Miss Wroughton never had a finer Compliment paid her than *This*." Ibid., 4:274.
35. Ibid., 5:347.

36. Warner, *Bath Characters*, 26.
37. Piozzi, *Letters*, 6:445.
38. Clark, *The Royal United Hospital*, 4–6. Ultimately, the Bath Dispensary and Infirmary combined with the Bath Casualty Hospital (founded in 1788 to treat the injuries sustained by the workmen who were constructing the city) to form the Royal United Hospital.
39. Meyler (1755–1821) was a printer, author, bookseller, and general entrepreneur. Critical reaction to his poetic effusions, especially those of a serious nature, was not always kind. For an overview of his career, see Grieves, "A Literary Entrepreneur: William Meyler of Bath," 81–93.
40. Meyler must have completed his text earlier, as it can also be found in the *Aberdeen Magazine, Literary Chronicle and Review; for the Year MDCCLXXXVIII*, 215–26.
41. Quoted by Gillaspie, *Catalogue of Music*, xxxii.
42. Given Nancy Storace's Italian background, it is likely that Rauzzini was able to pay special attention to expression and textual coloring. Patricia Lewy Gidwitz has commented on Storace's performing strengths: "her dramatic strengths lay in deftly shaded moods and utterances—in the way she delivered the words, gave them flavour and character, projected meaning." "'Ich bin die erste Sängerin,'" 208.
43. Kelly, *Reminiscences*, 1:11.
44. This anecdote was reprinted many times throughout the century, even as late as 1883 when the tale found a place in *London Society*, 44:709.
45. Olleson, *Journal and Letters*, 156.
46. "A short while since" is unfortunately vague, although it would indicate that the events happened near the end of the 1777–78 Bath season.
47. Gooch, *Appeal to the Public*, 11. Given the account in the newspapers of the time, it would not seem likely that the event took place in 1776, as Dianne Dugaw states in her preface to the reprint of the 1792 publication of *The Life of Mrs. Gooch. Written by Herself*, 4:2. That said, neither of Mrs. Gooch's accounts offer specific time references. In 1788, she writes that she and her husband returned to Bath in "the latter end of the year 1778" (*Appeal to the Public*, 9). This must in fact have been in 1777.
48. Rauzzini had a good command of French (likely better than his English at this time), so it is not incongruous that he would have written a note in that language.
49. Gooch, *Appeal to the Public*, 12.
50. Ibid., 12.
51. Both La Motte and Rauzzini appear to have realized just how dangerous the situation could be to their future success and, when Mrs. Gooch appeared at their door seeking assistance, "they very prudently did not suffer [her] to stay five minutes there." Gooch, *Appeal to the Public*, 17–18. A more complete biography and an analysis of Mrs Gooch's writings can be found in "Elizabeth Sarah Gooch: Life and Writing," in *Orlando: Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present*, ed. Susan Brown, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, *Cambridge University Press Online*, 2006, accessed September 29, 2011, http://orlando.cambridge.org. The authors' claim that Rauzzini would not have been capable of committing adultery with Mrs. Gooch because he was a castrato is not necessarily true.
52. Gooch, *Appeal to the Public*, 13–14.
53. Anon., *ABC Dario*, 40.
54. I am indebted to Dr. Jane Leibel of the School of Music, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for her advice in these matters.
55. Anon, *Remarkable Trial*, 83.

56. Rauzzini, *Twelve Solfeggi*, [ii–iii]. A second set of twelve solfeggi was issued in London by Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co. between 1808 and 1810. These publications must have had considerable utility since the publisher continued to issue them until 1820.
57. Ibid., [iii].
58. Mrs. Wingrove was likely displeased to learn that Mrs. Mountain had agreed to take part in Mary Comer's benefit concert. Although Mrs. Mountain was studying voice with Rauzzini during her time in Bath, she was far from a mere beginner, having an established London reputation. Her presence greatly increased the profile of Mary Comer's concert.
59. Quoted by Gillaspie, *Catalogue of Music*, 350.
60. Beeks, "Haydn, Handel and the Concerts of Ancient Music," 31–33.
61. Graydon Beeks's statement that music from Handel's *Theodora*, sung on the second program, was "seldom sung at the Antient Concerts or anywhere else in the years following Handel's death" ("Haydn, Handel and the Concerts," 34) needs the exception of Rauzzini's Bath concerts, where music from *Theodora* was performed on November 12 and 19, 1788, and December 30, 1789 (see appendix A).
62. Anon., "Biographical Sketch of Mr. Braham," 7.
63. Anon., "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini," 232.
64. Further discussion of some of Rauzzini's students can be found in Mollie Sands, "Rauzzini at Bath," 110–11; Johannes Reindl, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 64–72; and Sheila Hodges, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 12–30.
65. If Mr. Hill had been Rauzzini's pupil, he does not appear to have been amongst his best students, since his name does not appear in any of the concert advertisements for Rauzzini's concerts.
66. "The Village Maid, a favorite Song Sung by Miss Cantelo with the greatest applause at the Concerts, Bath" (London: Preston, 1788), British Library: G.295.p.(22.). The music was subsequently released by Hime in Dublin.
67. *Old Oliver, or the Dying Shepherd: A Cantata, Written by Peter Pindar, Esq*r*. and sung at the Bath Concerts by Mr. Braham* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1797]), British Library: G.364.(35.)
68. "When Henry Died, a Favorite Ballad Composed by Mr. Rauzzini and Sung at his Bath Concerts, by Mrs. Ashe" (London: Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co., [1805]). The British Library gives the song a provisional date of 1808, but it was already known in Bath by 1805. British Library: H.1681.(12.).
69. "Ah, Touch Again that Plaintive Strain. A favorite Song; with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte" (London: Longman & Broderip, [1797]), British Library: G.364.(36.). Recorded by Stefanie True and Tamás Szekendy on Centaur Records, CRC 3276.
70. "Cease to Blame my Melancholy" (London: Longman & Broderip, [1797]), British Library: G.364.(39.). Recorded by Stefanie True and Tamás Szekendy on Centaur Records, CRC 3276.
71. *A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music, (never before printed) consisting of Italian and English Songs, Duetts, Terzetts, Recitations, Canzonetts, Ballads* . . . 2 vols. ([Bath]: G. Steart, [1797]). The reprint edition was undertaken in London by Goulding & Co., ca. 1803. The British Library owns several copies of this publication but not all of them are complete. R.M. 14.a.1 is seemingly complete, but G.383.kk.(44.) is missing the final forty pages.

72. Music in the ballad style includes: "The Haymakers" (1:10–11), "Selina" (1:66–67), "Jervis and Duncan" (1:93), "The Avon's Side" (1:113), and "The Kiss" (2:178).
73. *Periodical Collection of Vocal Music*, 1:23–28. Recorded by Stefanie True and Tamás Szekendy on Centaur Records (CRC 3276).
74. This caricature can be found in Marshall, "Mara [née Schmeling], Gertrud Elizabeth," 15:794.

Chapter Seven

1. Charles Burney wrote that Haydn's presence at the keyboard during his first London concert electrified the audience. Burney, *Memoirs*, 3:132.
2. The *Bath Journal* recorded on December 11, 1780, that "we are concerned to find the dispute of the Upper and Lower Rooms are reviving with greater warmth than ever."
3. It is possible that Palmer resented Rauzzini's growing prestige in Bath, although no proof of this survives.
4. Rauzzini likely was at the 1778 Three Choirs Meeting (Gloucester) when Master Harrison's soprano voice broke on the opening day of the concerts, thereby causing last-minute chaos for the organizers. Lysons, *History*, 211.
5. Miss Storer appeared in the Bath concerts in 1781–83. She had been engaged by the Theatre Royal in Bath in 1780 and she took the opportunity of studying with Rauzzini, for whom she sang in the fall concerts. Her voice was noted for its sweetness of tone, although she was much plagued by poor health. Finally, she left Bath in 1783 for a warmer climate in the hope of recovering her health. James, "Concert Life," 987–99.
6. Kenneth James discusses appearances that she made in Bath while still a child. Ibid., 791–92.
7. A poorly attended benefit concert could have devastating consequences. That for James Brooks in 1782 had been so poorly attended that he was ultimately forced to sell his possessions and leave his home, according to the *Bath Journal* of October 7, 1782.
8. James, "Concert Life," 245.
9. The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* of December 23, 1782, compared the 1781–82 concerts with those of 1782–83 in terms of the "disproportion between the goodness of the present season and the last."
10. During 1783–84, Tenducci was occupied with concerts in Dublin.
11. Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 295 and 312.
12. D. P. Pieltain (1754–1833) was of Flemish descent and first appeared in London in 1782. His skills were quickly noticed by the managers of the most important concert societies. He became the leader of the Hanover Square concerts in 1783, and the Professional concerts in 1785. During the summer months he often performed in a solo capacity at the evening concerts in the Vauxhall Gardens.
13. James, "Concert Life," 904.
14. Ibid., 253.
15. Unfortunately, she died young, in 1793, at which time her husband returned to the Continent.

16. Kenneth James reports on the financial costs for the concert, and demonstrates that it proved to be a disappointment as it netted less than eleven shillings profit. James, "Concert Life," 259–60.
17. It appears that Incledon had his sights set on the London theatres and declined to continue his appearances at Vauxhall. The *Star* reported on January 26, 1789, that "from RAUZZINI's instructions, and his own powerful voice, with great reason he looks up to something more eminent." Incledon was finally hired by the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in 1790.
18. James, "Concert Life," 262.
19. All of Bath felt the financial pinch that year: "The Lower rooms have not the same fashion. It will hardly be believed but there are only seven lady subscribers to the Cotillon Balls."
20. James suggests that Dodd Perkins, the organist at Wells Cathedral, may have played an active role in the dispute because Rauzzini had earlier replaced Perkins as the director. "Concert Life," 98 and 868–69.
21. Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 629.
22. James, "Concert Life," 265.
23. These issues are too complex to detail in any depth here. The reader is directed to Mori, *Britain in the Age of the French Revolution*, 31–55; Emsley, *Britain and the French Revolution*, 9–13; and Macleod, "The Crisis of the French Revolution," 114–17.
24. John Marsh, *A History of my Private Life*, Huntington Library Manuscript, HM 54457, 15:94. R. J. S. Stevens was convinced to travel to Paris in the spring of 1792 so that his friend Samuel Birch could attend the Debates in the National Assembly. Stevens's account of their attempted journey and the decision to turn back after they met the English Ambassador fleeing France provides a vivid picture of the dangers of travel at that time. Stevens, *Recollections*, 87–89.
25. James,"Concert Life," 283.
26. Daniel Lysons records that her singing of "I know that my Redeemer liveth" exceeded "every silent expression of delight from music which I had observed; and, at the end, [the audience] seemed busting with applause, for which the place allowed of no decorous means of utterance." *History*, 219.
27. Carpenter, "London, Capital of the Emigration," 43.
28. This situation is described by Margery Weiner in her study of the exiles in Britain from 1789–1815, *The French Exiles*.
29. Oddly, the notice of her first concert in Bath claimed that it would be her first appearance in Britain. Kenneth James is in error when he assumes that the singer had chosen Bath as her residence ("Concert Life," 971). She had settled in London and returned there after the Bath season. She was listed in J. Doane's *Musical Directory* (1794) as a soprano living at No. 4, Hanover Street, Longacre.
30. Following the benefit concert, Madame de Sisley published a thank you letter in French in the *Bath Chronicle*, January 12, 1792, expressing her gratitude for the reception that she had received.
31. James, "Concert Life," 1026–27.
32. Ibid., 547.
33. Ibid., 273.
34. Ibid., 878.
35. Temperley, "Pinto, George Frederick."
36. She was one of the greatest *leggerio* singers of the century, with a voice that easily ascended to f‴ or g‴. Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 629.

37. Rauzzini repeated the scheme the following year, charging the same higher prices for his three concerts in the Upper Rooms, even though he did not have soloists of the caliber of Mrs. Billington at his disposal.
38. The *Bath Herald* of November 24, 1792, found that Dussek "displayed so much fire and original genius, that was at once pleasing as it was surprising—His execution indeed 'amazed the faculties of eyes and ear.'"
39. Powys, *Diaries*, 291. Mrs. Powys also heard Nancy Storace sing at the Royal Theatre in Bath on January 3, 1797, at which time she recorded in her diary that "I do believe that half the audience shed tears, as her manner, voice, and action was beyond anything one could imagine." Ibid., 294.
40. James, "Concert Life," 984–85.
41. Bath Central Library, AL 2389.
42. Anon., *Objections to the War Examined and Refuted by a Friend of Peace* (London, 1793), 3; quoted by Emsley in "Revolution, War and the Nation State," 103.
43. Yim, *Viotti and the Chinnerys*, 71.
44. Letter to Margaret Chinnery of April 18, 1794. Lister, *Amico*, 190–91.
45. James, "Concert Life," 281.
46. Powys, *Diaries*, 327.
47. Ibid., 327.
48. Ibid., 352.
49. The names of Haydn and Ashe were published in the lists of new arrivals in Bath, although Cimador, a name that was likely unfamiliar to Bath citizens, was not.
50. Quoted by Robbins Landon, *Haydn, A Documentary Study*, 142.
51. Miss Brown was sufficiently talented to have sung in one of Rauzzini's 1794–95 concerts.
52. James, "Concert Life," 676–77.
53. A discussion with Amina Wright of the Holburne Museum (June 8, 2012) raised the issue of the picture dating. It was her contention that there would have been no need to paint a picture with a dog in it from life.
54. Sheila Hodges reproduces the complete canon. "Venanzio Rauzzini," 25.
55. The reference to "lawn sleeves" is to the traditional dress of the Anglican bishops and archbishops. The "books" referred to in the newspaper report is to the lists of prominent visitors kept in the Pump Room in Bath.
56. The other members of the committee were Richard Tyson, M. C., John Waters, John Bathoe, the Rev. Mr. Bowen, D. H. Woodward, J. Browne, Granado Pigott [Piggot], Joshua Scrope, William Lutwyche, Fiennes Trothman, and Edward Butler.
57. James, "Concert Life," 292.
58. Ibid., 293.
59. Led by Henry Harrington, the Harmonic Society had 424 members by 1799, including the Duke of York and Frederick, Prince of Orange. With soloists of the caliber of John Braham, Mrs. Ashe and Nancy Storace, the concerts of the society had the potential for fragmenting the local audience on which Rauzzini was dependant. Gillaspie, *Catalogue of Music*, xxx–xxxiii.
60. James, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 105.
61. Powys, *Diaries*, 292.
62. The prices, however, were converted from that standard of the guinea to that of the pound.
63. Bath Central Library, AL 2063.
64. James, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 108.

65. *The Genius of Britain!* was composed to celebrate "the happy recovery of his Majesty." The ode was performed at the Theatre Royal in Bath, where some of the text was recited by Mr. Dimond and the airs were sung by Charles Incledon. A playbill survives at the Bath Central Library.
66. Admittedly, the foreign texts often were not translated on the handbills given out at the concerts. Nevertheless, the complaints raised in the above quotation speak more to musical styles than to issues of not understanding the sung texts.
67. The new prices were £2 12s 6d for a non-transferable ticket to the twelve concerts and two tickets transferable to ladies only for each concert except the Choral Evenings. For £2 2s, a patron could get a non-transferable ticket for the twelve concerts and one ticket transferable to a lady for the concerts except the Choral Evening. For £1 11s 6d, a patron could get one non-transferable ticket to the twelve concerts.
68. Lister, *Amico*, 193.
69. Mara's name is listed in large type in the concert advertisements, even though she did not sing. Indeed, she is listed for every concert but her first appearance appears to have been at the fourth concert on December 19.
70. The list of movements follows: "The English squadron bearing down upon the enemy," "Signal for engagement," Breaking through the French line," "French Ships dismasted—Taking of ditto," "Triumph of the English sailors," "Admiral Nelson wounded," "Captain Wescott Killed," "The action is renewed, and a compleat Victory obtained." The vocal and instrumental parts for Kroll's composition remained in Rauzzini's music library and were sold at auction in 1811. The Christie's auction catalogue states the "Score in the possession of Lady Nelson," *Catalogue*, 18. A copy of the handbill for the concert can be found at the Bath Central Library.
71. Powys, *Diaries*, 328.
72. Geiringer, *Haydn*, 78. Determining just which works had been published is difficult without access to the scores that Forster published. Details of Haydn's contract with the publisher are preserved in Sandys and Forster, *History of the Violin*, 300–14. Opus numbers were used, but few key designations are mentioned: op. 10 (3 symphonies), op. 12 (4), op. 15 (6), op. 29 (3), op. 31 (6), and op. 35 (6). Some of the works can be identified by their nicknames: Symphony no. 104 in D major ("London"), Symphony no. 73 in D major ("La Chasse"), Symphony no. 49 in F minor ("La Passione"), etc. *History of the Violin*, 313.
73. Powys, *Diaries*, 332.
74. Ibid., 357.
75. Ibid.
76. Edwards, "First Performances," 330–31.
77. Royal College of Music Library, XI.B.24 / D428/2.
78. Rauzzini gave his copy of the score to his friend James Windsor with the following annotation: "Given to Mr. Windsor by his much esteemed friend Mr. Rauzzini, Sunday March 5, 1810, Bath." This was just over a month before Rauzzini died.
79. A manuscript copy of the aria can be found at the Royal College of Music (London): RCM Ms 522, 127r–131v. This is another score copied from original sources for James Windsor.
80. Naldi had a strong connection with Mozart's music, and was the first London Papageno, Leporello, Figaro, and Don Alfonso. Unfortunately, he died when a newly-invented cooking kettle he was using exploded. Hodges, "Venanzio Rauzzini," 23.

81. "Jervis and Duncan, or, The Year Ninety-Seven" ([?Bath: 1797]). British Library: G.376.(31.)
82. It is possible that this march was the same music that was eventually published in piano score as *A Grand Miliary March as performed at the Bath Concerts . . .* (London: Goulding, Phipps and D'Almaine, [1810]), although this has not been verified.
83. The publication does not bear a date, but the British Library copy (H.1652.o.(41.) is printed on paper that is watermarked 1806. That copy is missing the final page, but a complete version is found in British Library: H.2818.f.(57).
84. Fenner, *Opera in London*, 210.
85. Ibid., 210–15.
86. Yim, *Viotti and Chinnerys*, 134.
87. Fenner, *Opera in London*, 213.
88. Quoted by Yim, *Viotti and Chinnerys*, 148.
89. Fenner, *Opera in London*, 211.
90. Warner, *Bath Characters*, 83–106.
91. Ibid., 86–87.
92. Audiences in London objected to the increased prices at the new Covent Garden theater, which replaced the one that had burned on December 20, 1808. Riots broke out during the performance of *Macbeth* on opening night in September 1809, and continued for over two months. While no damage was done to the theater, Kemble's management was called into question.
93. See those in the *Hull Packet and Original Weekly Commercial, Literary and General Advertiser* (Tuesday, September 26, 1809), in particular.
94. Gillaspie (*Catalogue of Music*, 105) provides different authorship for several of these operas, including C. S. Catel for *Semiramide*, Sebastiano Nasolini for *La morte di Mitridate*, and Rauzzini for *Didone*. It would seem most unlikely that the Bath performances would present operas that were not in the current repertory in London. In the case of *Didone*, the work was a *pasticcio* with only some arias by Rauzzini. It had not been heard in London since 1775 and was an unlikely candidate for revival in 1809 in Bath.

Chapter Eight

1. Piozzi, *Letters*, 6:445.
2. Ibid., 6:445.
3. *European Magazine* (January–June 1810), 315.
4. Reindl discusses the surviving iconography, although his dating of some items may be open to question. "Venanzio Rauzzini," 97.
5. Piozzi, *Letters*, 2:1080.
6. Dr Lucy Rutherford, Archivist at the Bath Abbey, kindly informs me that the burial of a prominent Catholic in the Abbey would not have been exceptional (personal communication, May 16, 2011).
7. The reference to Barthélmon cannot be to the violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélemon, who died in 1808.
8. Sands, "Rauzzini in Bath," 111.
9. Neil Jeffares, "Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800," *Pastels and Pastellists*, accessed September 28, 2014, http://www.pastellists.com.

10. *A Catalogue of the Very Valuable and Extensive Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, Manuscript and Printed, of the Late Mr. Rauzzini, of Bath, Dec*d . . . I am indebted to Dr. Simona Dolari at Christie's Auction House for providing me with a copy of this catalogue.
11. *Periodical Collection of Vocal Music*, 1:13–18.
12. Anon., "Memoirs of Signor Rauzzini," 232.

Appendix A

1. Hoskin, "Alexander Herschel," 391.
2. It is not known whether Rauzzini published the concert repertoire in the *Bath Journal* during 1790, as copies for that year have not survived.
3. While it is possible that one of Handel's organ concertos was played on the piano, it would seem more likely this concerto was by another composer.
4. The initial advertisements for the series gave Braham's name as Bream. This was corrected by the time of the first concert.
5. The fact that the paper is dated a day after the concert date is not uncommon for the Bath newspapers, which were often available the day before their published date.
6. Although not identified as being by Rauzzini, he did harmonize and arrange a setting made by a Reverend Carter of Shakespeare's text. Rauzzini's arrangement was not published until ca. 1805, but may have been composed earlier.
7. The violinist identified only by his last name is presumably John C. M. Bianchi (1775–1802) who returned to London in 1801 after six years in Dublin. Since Bianchi also composed, it is likely that he played his own violin concerti in some these concerts. As seen in the listing for January 27, 1802, he also played works by Giornovicchi, albeit adapted to include new materials. Bianchi died young, at the age of twenty-seven, in September 1802.
8. It has not been possible to identify this Mr. Ashley. The most famous bassoonist of this name was John Ashley, but he died on March 14, 1805.
9. By this time she was living in London, where she was the piano tutor to Princess Amelia, daughter of George III, and also to Princess Charlotte of Wales.

Appendix B

1. Listed by Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, as composed by Anfossi, but this attribution has not been substantiated elsewhere.

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Venanzio Rauzzini (1746–1810), the celebrated Italian castrato, is best known for his performance in Mozart's *Lucio Silla* in 1772, with which Mozart was so pleased that he composed for the singer the famous motet *Exsultate jubilate*. In 1774, Rauzzini moved to London where he performed three seasons of serious operas at the King's Theatre. From 1777 until his death in 1810, he was the director of the concert series in Bath, a series that matched the prestige of any that were given in London. In addition, he composed prolifically, writing music for eleven operas.

This book is a study of Rauzzini's remarkable yet often overlooked career in Britain. Paul Rice chronicles Rauzzini's performances at the King's Theatre and examines his leadership of the Bath subscription concerts from 1780 to 1810, recovering much of the repertory. Rice shows in detail how Rauzzini responded musically to the social and political conditions of his adopted country and analyzes the castrato's reception as well as his compositional choices, shedding new light on changing musical tastes in late eighteenth-century Britain.

"Over the last several decades, music historians have devoted much attention to the contributions of singers to eighteenth-century music. The castrati have attracted particular interest not only because of their amazing musicianship but also because of issues of sexuality and gender. Yet few eighteenth-century singers, and even fewer castrati, have been the subject of monographs. Rauzzini was not only a singer but a composer, teacher, and impresario, who contributed a great deal to musical life in England over several decades. Paul Rice's book thus fills a conspicuous gap in the musicological literature."

—John A. Rice, author of *Music in the Eighteenth Century*

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